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QUINTUS CURTIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

II

BOOKS VI–X

93i

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QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

BOOK VI

CONTENTS OF BOOK VI

While Alexander was winning victories in Asia there were disturbances in Greece and Macedonia. Agis, king of Lacedaemon, urges the Greeks to throw off the Macedonian yoke while the Persians still had power to resist. With money from Pharnabazus and Autophradates he hired mercenaries, and taking advantage of Antipater's absence in Thrace, won over to his side nearly the whole Peloponnesus and raised an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Antipater settled the war in Thrace on the best conditions he could and from the friendly and allied cities of Greece raised 40,000 troops. He sent messengers to Alexander informing him of the revolt and the king sent him money and ships. The beginning of the war was favourable to the Lacedaemonians. The final battle was hotly contested, but after Antipater constantly sent fresh troops to the aid of his hard-pressed men, the Lacedaemonians began to give ground. Thereupon Agis with the royal cohort, his bravest men, rushed into the thick of the fight.

A description of the battle. Agis fights valiantly, but is slain. The Greek army is defeated and the revolt collapses. Antipater, knowing Alexander's spirit, did not venture to act as arbiter, but left that to a council of the Greeks. The Lacedaemonians through envoys gain pardon from Alexander (i).

Alexander, invincible in war, is overcome by leisure and pleasure. His adoption of foreign habits gave offence to his own countrymen and led to conspiracies and mutinies. He favours those of his prisoners who are of high birth. A rumour arises that the king thinks of returning to Macedonia (ii).

Alexander reviews what he has accomplished, tells his men what remains to be done and urges them to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion (iii).

The soldiers are aroused by his eloquence and bid him lead them wherever he will. He takes advantage of their enthusiasm and marches through Parthienê to Hyrcania. A description of the Stiboetes river. Nabarzanes in a letter asks for pardon, which is granted. A description of the Caspian Sea (iv).

Alexander receives Artabazus with great courtesy, spares the Greeks who had aided Darius, defeats the Mardi, and entertains a queen of the Amazons (v).

The Macedonians are offended by Alexander's habits. To prevent a mutiny he plans to make war upon Bessus. He must first put down a revolt of Satibarzanes, whom he had made satrap of the Arii. He drives the barbarians from the mountains, takes Artacana, and marches against the Drangae (vi).

Dymnus reveals a conspiracy against Alexander to Nicomachus, who through his brother Cebalinus reports it to Alexander. Dymnus kills himself (vii).

Philotas, son of Parmenion, is charged by Alexander's friends with forming the conspiracy. He is arrested and taken to the king's quarters (viii).

Alexander addresses the soldiers about the conspiracy. Some of the leaders make charges against Philotas. When the accused is asked whether he wishes to make his defence in the Macedonian language or in Greek, he prefers to reply in Greek (ix).

Philotas denies the charges (x).

Bolon rouses the soldiers against Philotas. A confession is forced from him by torture, and he is stoned to death with the other conspirators (xi).

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

HISTORIARUM ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS

LIBER VI

Dum haec in Asia geruntur, ne in Graecia quidem Macedoniaque tranquillae res fuere. Regnabat apud Lacedaemonios Agis, filius Archidami, qui Tarentinis opem ferens occiderat eodem die quo Philippus Athenienses ad Chaeroneam vicit; is Alexandri virtutis aemulus cives suos stimulabat, ne Graeciam servitute Macedonum diutius premi paterentur; nisi in tempore providerent, idem iugum ad ipsos transiturum. Adnitendum igitur, dum aliquae Persis ad resistendum vires essent; illis oppressis, adversus immanem potentiam frustra avitae libertatis memores futuros. Sic instinctis animis, occasionem belli movendi captabant. Prospero igitur eventu Memnonis invitati consilia cum eo miscere aggressi sunt et, postquam ille rerum laetarum initia intempestiva morte destituit, nihilo remissius agebant.

Sed ad Pharnabazum et Autophradaten profectus, Agis triginta argenti talenta decemque triremes impetravit, quas Agesilao fratri misit, ut in Cretam navigaret, cuius

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[a] 338 B.C.

[b] See iii. 1. 21.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT OF MACEDON

BOOK VI

While this was happening in Asia, not in Greece either nor in Macedonia was there complete quiet. There was ruling among the Lacedaemonians Agis, son of Archidamus, who, while bearing aid to the Tarentines, was slain on the same day that Philip defeated the Athenians at Chaeronea.[a] *Agis, a rival of Alexander in valour, was spurring on his citizens not to allow Greece to be longer oppressed by slavery to the Macedonians; unless they took precaution betimes, the same yoke would pass to them. They ought therefore to bestir themselves while the Persians still had some strength for resistance; when they were crushed, the Lacedaemonians, faced by an immense power, would in vain be mindful of their ancestral freedom. When their minds had been thus aroused, the Lacedaemonians sought for an opportunity of beginning war. Accordingly, encouraged by Memnon's*[b] *successful result, they began to join in his plans, and after he was taken off in the beginning of a prosperous career by an untimely death, they did not act with any less vigour.*

But Agis went to Pharnabazus and Autophradates, and obtained thirty talents of silver and ten triremes, which he sent to his brother Agesilaüs, in order that he might sail

nsulae cultores inter Lacedaemonios et Macedonas diversis studiis distrahebantur. Legati quoque ad Dareum missi sunt, qui ad bellum ampliorem vim pecuniae pluresque naves peterent. Atque haec eorum consilia clades ad Issum—nam ea intervenerat—adeo non interpellavit, ut etiam adiuvaret. Quippe fugientem insecutus Alexander in loca in dies longinquiora rapiebatur, et ex ipso proelio mercennariorum ingens multitudo in Graeciam fuga se receperat; quorum octo milia Persica pecunia conduxit Agis eorumque opera plerasque Cretensium urbes recepit.

Cum deinceps Menon in Thraciam ab Alexandrò missus barbaros ad defectionem impulisset atque Antipater ad eam conprimendam exercitum ex Macedonia in Thraciam duxisset, opportunitate temporis strenue usi, Lacedaemonii totam Peloponnesum, paucis urbibus exceptis, ad suas partes traxerunt, confectoque exercitu viginti milium peditum cum duobus milibus equitum, Agidi summam imperii detulerunt. Antipater, ea re comperta, bellum in Thracia, quibus potest condicionibus, componit raptimque in Graeciam regressus ab amicis sociisque civitatibus auxilia cogit. Quibus convenientibus, ad quadraginta milia militum recensuit. Advenerat etiam ex Peloponneso valida manus; sed quia dubiam eorum fidem cognoverat, dissimulata suspicione, gratias egit, quod ad defendendam a Lacedaemoniis Alexandri dignitatem adfuissent; scripturum se id regi, gratiam in tempore relaturo. In praesens nihil opus esse maioribus copiis; itaque domos redirent, foederis necessitate expleta. Nuntios deinde ad Alexandrum mittit, de motu

to Crete, the inhabitants of which island were divided by conflicting interests between the Lacedaemonians and the Macedonians. Envoys were sent also to Darius, to ask for a greater sum of money for carrying on the war and more ships.. And these plans of theirs the defeat at Issus —for that had meanwhile happened—was so far from interrupting, that it even helped them. For Alexander, in his close pursuit of the fleeing king, was being hurried to more distant places, and from the battle itself a great number of mercenaries had fled to Greece; and of these Agis with his Persian money hired 8000, and by their help recovered numerous cities of the Cretans.

Next, after that, when Menon, sent by Alexander into Thrace, had stirred up the barbarians to revolt, and Antipater, to suppress it, had led an army from Macedonia into Thrace, promptly taking advantage of the opportune time, the Lacedaemonians brought over to their side the entire Peloponnesus with the exception of a few cities, and mustering an army of 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, conferred the chief command upon Agis. Antipater, on learning of this action, settled the war in Thrace on the best terms he could make, and hastily returning to Greece, got together what troops he could from the friendly and allied cities. When these had assembled he counted a force of 40,000 soldiers. A strong band also had come from the Peloponnesus; but since he knew that their loyalty was doubtful, concealing his suspicion, he thanked them for having come to defend the prestige of Alexander against the Lacedaemonians; he said that he would write this to the king, who in due time would requite them. That at present there was no need of greater forces; therefore they might return to their homes, having fulfilled the obligation of their treaty. Then he sent messengers to Alexander, to inform him of the uprising in Greece.

Graeciae certiorem facturus. Atque illi regem apud Bactra demum consecuti sunt, cum interim Antipatri victoria et nece Agidis in Arcadia res transacta esset.

Rex iam pridem tumultu Lacedaemoniorum cognito, quantum tot terrarum spatiis discretus potuit, providerat; Amphoterum cum Cypriis et Phoeniciis navibus in Peloponnesum navigare, Meneta tria milia talentum ad mare deferre iusserat, ut ex propinquo pecuniam Antipatro subministraret, quanta illi opus esse cognovisset. Probe enim perspexerat, quanti ad omnia momenti motus istius inclinatio futura esset; quamquam postea, accepto victoriae nuntio, cum suis rebus illam dimicationem comparans, murium eam pugnam fuisse cavillatus est. Ceterum principia eius belli haud improspera Lacedaemoniis fuere. Iuxta Corrhagum, Macedoniae castellum, cum Antipatri militibus congressi victores exstiterant; et rei bene gestae fama etiam, qui dubiis mentibus fortunam spectaverant, societati eorum se adiunxerunt. Una ex Eleis Achaeisque urbibus Pellene foedus aspernabatur et in Arcadia Megalopolis, fida Macedonibus propter Philippi memoriam, a quo beneficiis affecta fuerat. Sed haec circumsessa non multum a deditione aberat, nisi tandem Antipater subvenisset. Is postquam castra castris contulit seque numero militum alioque apparatu superiorem conspexit, quam primum de summa rerum proelio contendere statuit; neque Lacedaemonii detrectavere certamen.

Ita commissa est pugna, quae rem Spartanam maiorem in modum afflixit. Cum enim angustiis locorum in qui-

[a] The battle of Megalopolis, 331 B.C.

These at last overtook Alexander at Bactra, when in the meantime the revolt had been ended by Antipater's victory in Arcadia and the death of Agis.

The king, having learned long beforehand of the rebellion of the Lacedaemonians, had provided for it so far as he could when separated by the extent of so many lands; he had ordered Amphoterus with Cyprian and Phoenician ships to sail to the Peloponnesus, Menes to take 3000 talents to the sea-coast, in order that from near at hand he might supply Antipater with as much money as he should learn that he needed. For he had rightly perceived how greatly that move would tip the scales of Fortune's balance for all his plans; although later, after having received news of Antipater's victory, he jestingly remarked, comparing that battle with his own exploits, that it had been a fight with mice. However, the first stages of that war had not been without success for the Lacedaemonians. Near Corrhagum, a fortress of Macedonia, having encountered Antipater's soldiers, they had come off victors; and because of the fame of that success those also who had looked upon the fortune of the rebels with doubting minds had allied themselves with them. Pellenê alone of the cities of Elis and Achaia rejected the league, and in Arcadia, Megalopolis, being faithful to the Macedonians because of the memory of Philip, from whom they had received favours. But that city was besieged and was on the point of surrender, had not Antipater at last come to their aid. He, after comparing camp with camp and seeing that he was superior in number of men and in other equipment, decided to fight a decisive battle as soon as possible; and the Lacedaemonians did not decline the contest.

Accordingly, a battle[a] *took place, which greatly damaged the Spartan cause. For when, trusting to the narrowness*

bus pugnabatur confisi, ubi hosti nullum multitudinis usum futurum credebant, fortissime congressi essent, ac Macedones impigerrime resisterent, multum sanguinis fusum est. Sed postquam Antipater integram subinde manum laborantibus suis subsidio misit, impulsa Lacedaemoniorum acies gradum paulisper retulit. Quod conspicatus, Agis cum cohorte regia, quae ex fortissimis constabat, se in medium I. pugnae discrimen immisit, obtruncatisque qui promptius resistebant, magnam
2 partem hostium propulit. Coeperant fugere victores et,[1] donec avidius sequentes in planum deduxere, inulti cadebant; sed ut primum locus in quo stare
3 possent fuit, aequis viribus dimicatum est. Inter omnes tamen Lacedaemonios rex eminebat, non armorum modo et corporis specie, sed etiam magni-
4 tudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. Undique nunc comminus, nunc eminus petebatur, diuque arma circumferens, alia tela clipeo[2] excipiebat, corpore alia vitabat, donec hasta femina perfossa plurimo
5 sanguine effuso destituere pugnantem. Ergo clipeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim in castra referebant, iactationem vulnerum haud facile tolerantem.
6 Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam et, ut primum sibi quam hosti aequiorem locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effuse[3] fluentem in se
7 aciem excepere. Non aliud discrimen vehementius

[1] et *Modius; A omits.*
[2] clipeo *I;* clypeo *BFPV;* clippeo *L; so below.*
[3] effuse *Acidalius;* effusi *A.*

[a] *Cf.* vii. 4. 33; Tac. *Ann.* i. 53 *manibus aequis.*

of the plain in which they fought, where they believed that the enemy would have no advantage from their superior numbers, they attacked most valiantly and the Macedonians resisted most vigorously, there was great bloodshed. But after Antipater from time to time sent a fresh force to aid his hard-pressed men, the army of the Lacedaemonians was forced to give way, and drew back for a while. Agis, on seeing this, with the royal cohort, which was made up of his bravest men, I. plunged right into the danger-point of the fight, and cutting down those who resisted most bravely, drove a great part
2 of the enemy before him. The victors had begun to flee, and until they brought the enemy, who pursued them too eagerly, down into the level ground, they were falling unavenged; but no sooner was there standing-room, than they fought on equal terms.[a]
3 Among all the Lacedaemonians, however, their king was conspicuous, not only for the excellence of his arms and his person, but also for the greatness of his
4 courage, in which alone he was unsurpassed. On all sides, now hand to hand, now at long range, he was attacked, and for a long time, turning his arms now here, now there, he caught some of the weapons with his shield and avoided others by his agility; but at last his thighs were run through by a lance and from
5 great loss of blood failed him as he fought. Therefore his guards laid him upon his shield and quickly carried him back to his camp, hardly able to endure the effect of the jolting on his wounds.

6 Yet the Lacedaemonians did not give up the fight, but as soon as they could gain ground more favourable to themselves than to the enemy, they took close order and met their line of battle as it poured
7 like a flood upon them. That no contest was ever

fuisse memoriae proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari Marte pugnabant; 8 Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones praesentia decora intuebantur, illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant, Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus locus 9 deerat. Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus modo spem, modo metum utriusque partis augebat, velut de industria inter fortissimos viros certamen 10 aequante Fortuna. Ceterum angustiae loci in quo haeserat pugna non patiebantur totis ingredi viribus; spectabant ergo plures, quam inierant proelium, et qui extra teli iactum erant clamore invicem suos 11 accendebant. Tandem Laconum acies languescere, lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens, pedem deinde 12 referre coepit. Ut urgente hoste apertius fugere,[1] insequebatur dissipatos[2] victor et emensus cursu omne spatium, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agin persequebatur.

13 Ille ut fugam suorum et proximos hostium conspexit, deponi se iussit; expertusque membra an impe- 14 tum animi sequi possent, postquam deficere sensit, poplitibus semet excepit, galeaque strenue sumpta, clipeo protegens corpus, hastam dextera vibrabat, ultro provocans[3] hostem, si quis iacenti spolia demere 15 auderet. Nec quisquam fuit qui sustineret comminus congredi; procul missilibus appetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem retorquens, donec lancea nudo pec-

[1] fugĕre *Bentley;* fugeret *A.*
[2] dissipatos *Lauer;* dissipatus *A.*
[3] provocans *Hedicke;* uocans *A.*

[a] *Cf.* iv. 6. 25. [b] A vivid description in Diod. xvii. 63. 4.

more desperate is a matter of record. The armies of the two nations most famed in war were fighting
8 on even terms; the Lacedaemonians had an eye to their ancient, the Macedonians to their present glory, the one side was fighting for freedom, the other, for dominion, the Lacedaemonians lacked a
9 leader, the Macedonians room for fighting. Also, so many shifting changes in a single day increased now the hope, now the fear of both sides, as if Fortune were purposely balancing a struggle between the
10 bravest of men. But the narrowness of the place in which the battle remained fixed did not allow them to engage with their full strength; therefore more looked on at the contest than took part in it, and those who were out of range of a weapon urged on
11 their men in turn by their acclamations. At last the army of the Laconians, who were barely able to hold their weapons slippery with sweat,[a] began to weaken,
12 then to retreat. Next, when they fled more openly, as the enemy pushed on, the victor followed them closely, scattered as they were, and passing at the double over all the space which the Laconians' army had held, was in pursuit of Agis himself.
13 He, when he saw the flight of his men and the foremost of the enemy, gave orders to be put down, and having tried whether his limbs could follow the
14 desire of his spirit, and feeling that they failed him, he sank upon his knees, and quickly putting on his helmet, and protecting his body with his shield, he brandished a spear in his right hand, actually challenging anyone who would dare to despoil him as he lay
15 there.[b] But there was no one who could endure to engage with him hand to hand. He was assailed from a distance with weapons, hurling the same ones back

repente ortum, prius tamen finitum est quam Dareum Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

II. Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus militarium rerum quam quietis otiique patientior, excepere eum voluptates, et quem arma Persarum
2 non fregerant vitia vicerunt: tempestiva[1] convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo, ludique et greges pelicum. Omnia in externum lapsa morem. Quem ille[2] aemulatus, quasi potiorem suo, ita popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a pleris-
3 que amicorum pro hoste haberetur. Tenaces quippe disciplinae suae, solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturae desideria defungi, in peregrina
4 et devictarum gentium mala impulerat. Hinc saepius comparatae in caput eius insidiae, secessio militum, et liberior inter mutuas querellas dolor, ipsius deinde nunc ira, nunc [illegible] quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, ceteraque his similia, quae deinde dicentur.
5 Igitur cum tempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat, non contentus artificum quos e Graecia exciverat turba[3]; quippe captivae iubebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen.

[1] tempestiva *Heusinger;* tempestatiua *P m. pr.;* intempestiva *C.*
[2] Quem ille *Hedicke;* quemque *A.*
[3] turba *J. Froben;* turbae *A.*

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[a] See note on *de die*, v. 7. 2.
[b] For *perpotandi cf.* Cic. *Verr.* v. 33. 87; for *pervigilandi* Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 326. The two compounds with *per-* add to the effect; *cf.* v. 5. 1 *praealtae praecipitesque.*
[c] *Cf.* vi. 6. 9. [d] *Cf.* [illegible] *corporis*, iii. 5. 2.

the outcome of the war, which broke out suddenly, yet was ended before Alexander overcame Darius at Arbela.

II. But Alexander, as soon as a mind which was better qualified for coping with military toil than with quiet and ease was relieved of pressing cares, gave himself up to pleasures, and one whom the arms of the Persians had not overcome fell victim to their
2 vices : banquets begun early,[a] the mad enjoyment of heavy drinking and being up all night,[b] and troops of harlots. There was a general slipping into foreign habits. By emulating these, as if they were preferable to those of his country, he so offended alike the eyes and the minds of his countrymen, that by many of
3 his former friends he was regarded as an enemy. For men who held fast to[c] their native discipline, and were accustomed with frugal and easily obtained[d] food to satisfy the demands of nature, he had driven to the
4 evil habits of foreign and conquered nations. Hence the more frequent making of plots against his life, mutiny of the soldiers, and freer expression of resentment amid mutual complaints, then on his own part now anger, now suspicions aroused by groundless fear, and other similar evils, of which an account will
5 be given later. Alexander, therefore, when he was wasting days and nights alike in early and prolonged banquets, used to relieve the satiety of his feasts with entertainments, not content with a throng of artists[e] whom he had summoned from Greece ; for captive women were bidden to sing after their manner a song discordant and hateful to foreign ears.[f]

[e] Including τεχνῖται Διονυσιακοί; *cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xxix. 2-3.

[f] *Cf.* Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 18. 66 *abhorrens ab auribus vulgi*; *De Off.* i. 18. 83.

6 Inter quas unam rex ipse[1] conspexit maestiorem quam ceteras et producentibus eam verecunde reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat; deiectis in terram oculis et, quantum licebat, ore velato, suspicionem praebuit regi nobiliorem esse, quam ut inter convivales[2] ludos deberet
7 ostendi. Ergo interrogata quaenam esset, neptim se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset in Persis, filio eius genitam esse respondit, uxorem Hystaspis fuisse. Propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni et ipse exercitus
8 praetor. Adhuc in animo regis tenues reliquiae pristini moris haerebant; itaque fortunam regia stirpe genitae et tam celebre nomen Ochi reveritus, non dimitti modo captivam, sed etiam restitui ei suas opes iussit, virum quoque requiri, ut reperto coniugem
9 redderet. Postero autem die praecepit Hephaestioni ut omnes captivos in regiam iuberet adduci. Ibi singulorum nobilitate spectata, secrevit a vulgo quorum eminebat genus. M hi fuerunt; inter quos repertus est Oxathres, Darei frater, non illius fortuna quam indole animi sui clarior.

10 XXVI milia talentum proxima praeda redacta[3] erant, quis e[4] duodecim milia in congiarium militum absumpta[5] sunt, par huic pecuniae summa custodum

[1] ipse *A;* saepe *Hedicke.*
[2] convivales *P m. pr.;* conuiuiales *C.*
[3] redacta *J. Froben;* reducta *A.*
[4] quis e *A;* omnino *Hedicke.*
[5] absumpta *J. Froben;* adsumpta *A.*

[a] *Regiam* probably here, as elsewhere, for *praetorium*, the king's headquarters.

[b] *Congiarium*, originally a gift of wine or oil (*cf. congius*, a liquid measure), used also in a general sense.

6 Among these women the king himself noticed one more sad than the others, who modestly resisted those who would lead her forward. She was of surpassing beauty, and her modesty enhanced her beauty; with downcast eyes and with her face covered so far as she was allowed, she aroused in the king a suspicion that she was of too high birth to be exhibited amid
7 entertainments at a banquet. On being accordingly asked who she was, she replied that she was the granddaughter of Ochus, who had lately been king of the Persians, being the daughter of his son, and that she had been the wife of Hystaspes. He had been a kinsman of Darius and himself the commander
8 of a great army. There still lingered in the king's mind some remains of his former disposition; and so, respecting the ill-fortune of a lady born of royal stock, and so famous a name as that of Ochus, he not only gave orders that the captive should be set free, but also that her property should be returned to her; likewise that her husband should be looked for, in order that when he had been found, he might restore
9 his wife to him. Moreover, on the following day he ordered Hephaestion to cause all the prisoners to be brought to the palace.[a] There, having inquired into the rank of each one, he separated from the common herd those who were of high birth. There were a thousand of these; among them was Oxathres, brother of Darius, no more distinguished because of the rank of that king than for his own mental endowments.

10 Twenty-six thousand talents were amassed from the recent booty, and of these 12,000 were spent in largess[b] to the soldiers, and a sum equal to this was embezzled by the great dishonesty of those who

11 fraude subtracta est. Oxydates[1] erat nobilis Perses, qui a Dareo capitali supplicio destinatus, cohibebatur in vinculis ; huic liberato satrapeam Mediae attribuit fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum, omni vetustae claritatis[2] honore servato.

12 Hinc in Parthienen perventum est, tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium qui post Euphraten et
13 Tigrim amnes siti Rubro mari terminantur. Scythae regionem campestrem ac fertilem occupaverant,[3] graves adhuc accolae. Sedes habent et in Europa et in Asia ; qui super Bosphorum colunt asscribuntur Asiae, at qui in Europa sunt a laevo Thraciae latere ad Borysthenem atque inde ad Tanaim recta plaga
14 attinent. Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit. Nec dubitatur, quin Scythae qui Parthos condidere non a Bosphoro, sed ex Europae regione penetraverint.

15 Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos,[4] condita a Graecis ; ibi stativa rex habuit commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebruit,[5] regem contentum rebus quas gessisset in Macedoniam protinus redire sta-

[1] Oxydates *Aldus;* oxidates *A.*
[2] claritatis *I;* caritatis *A.*
[3] occupaverant *Hedicke;* occupauerunt *A.*
[4] Hecatompylos *J. Froben;* haecathouphilos *A.*
[5] percrebruit *Zarotus;* percrebuit *A.*

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[a] Referring not only to the treasurer, but also to others through whose hands the booty had passed.
[b] Apparently meaning "the Companion Cavalry," the *agema, cf.* vii. 5. 40.
[c] *i.e.* as Parthia.
[d] *i.e.* the Scythians, not the Parthians.
[e] *i.e.* east of ; *cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* v. 110.
[f] The Cimmerian Bosphorus (Strait of Kertsch) ; the

11 had charge of it.[a] Oxydates was a Persian noble, who was being kept in bonds, because he had been destined by Darius for capital punishment. Alexander freed him and conferred upon him the satrapy of Media, and the brother of Darius he received into the band of his friends,[b] with the maintenance of all the honour due to his ancient lineage.

12 From there they came to Parthienê, then an obscure nation, but now[c] the head of all those who dwell beyond the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers and extend
13 as far as the Red Sea. The Scythians had taken possession of the level and fertile part of the region, and are still dangerous neighbours. They[d] have homes both in Europe and in Asia ; those who dwell above[e] the Bosphorus[f] are assigned to Asia, but those who are in Europe extend from the left side of Thrace to the Borysthenes[g] and from there in a direct
14 course to the Tanais.[h] The Tanais flows between Europe and Asia. There is no doubt that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians are descended, made their way, not from the Bosphorus, but from the region of Europe.

15 There was at that time a famous city called Hecatompylos,[i] founded by the Greeks ; there the king remained for several days, after having supplies brought there from every side. As a result, gossip, the vice of idle soldiery, spread without authority that the king, content with what he had accomplished,
16 had decided to return forthwith to Macedonia. They

adjective is often omitted where it is evident from the context which Bosphorus is meant.

[g] the Dnieper. [h] the Don.

[i] See Diod. xvii. 75. 1. According to Pliny (*N.H.* vi. 113) it was the residence of Arsaces and his successors.

16 tuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in[1] tabernacula et itineri sarcinas aptant; signum datum crederes, ut vasa colligerent totis castris. Tumultus hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium
17 plaustra perfertur ad regem. Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Graeci milites redire iussi domos; quorum equitibus singulis denarium sena milia cum data essent, peditibus singula milia,[2] ipsis quoque
18 finem militiae adesse credebant. Haud secus quam par erat territus, qui Indos atque ultima Orientis peragrare statuisset, praefectos copiarum in praetorium contrahit, obortisque lacrimis, ex medio gloriae spatio revocari se, victi magis quam victoris
19 fortunam in patriam relaturum, conquestus est; nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare, sed deum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent, paulo post in eandem cum maiore laude famaque redituris.
20 Tum vero pro se quisque operam suam offerre, difficillima quaeque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, si animos eorum leni et apta oratione
21 permulcere voluisset; numquam infractos et abiectos recessisse, quotiens ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus haurire potuissent. Ita se facturum esse

[1] in *added in I; A omits.*
[2] cum data . . . milia *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] A regular expression for collecting the baggage as a preliminary to marching; *cf.* Caes. *B.G.* i. 66; iii. 37 *vasa conclamare*; figuratively, Sen. *Epist.* xix. 1 *vasa in senectute colligere.*

[b] The *denarius* is reckoned as equal to the *drachma*; hence the whole sum amounted to a talent.

[c] Said not with reference to the external form, but to the contents; *cf.* Cic. *Partit.* vi. 19 *sententiae aptae opinionibus hominum et moribus.*

ran as though crazed to their tents and made ready their packs for the journey ; you would believe that the signal to march[a] had been given throughout the whole camp. Here the noise of those looking for their tent-mates, there of those loading the wagons, was
17 borne to the king's ears. The Greek soldiers who had been bidden to return to their homes had gained credence for the report which had been circulated without reason ; since 6000 denarii[b] had been given to each of their horsemen, and 1000 to every man of their infantry, the rest of the army believed that the end of military service was at hand for themselves
18 also. Alarmed, as was natural, the king, who had determined to traverse the lands of the Indi and the remotest parts of the Orient, summoned the leaders of his forces to his tent, and, with tears in his eyes, complained that he was being recalled from the mid-course of his glory, to take back to his native land the fortune of one who was vanquished rather than
19 that of a victor ; that it was not cowardice on the part of his soldiers that stood in his way, but the envy of the gods, who had inspired in the bravest of men a sudden longing for their native land, to which they would return a little later with greater glory and fame.

20 Then indeed each general individually offered his service, demanded the most difficult tasks, promised also the obedience of the soldiers, if the king would consent to soothe their feelings by a mild and appro-
21 priate[c] address ; that they had never held back spiritless and downcast, whenever they had been able to draw upon his enthusiasm and the inspiration of so great a mind. Alexander replied that he would do it ; only let them in advance prepare the ears of

respondit; illi modo vulgi aures praepararent sibi. Satisque omnibus quae in rem videbantur esse compositis, vocari ad contionem exercitum iussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit:

III. "Magnitudinem rerum quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis minime mirum est et desiderium
2 quietis et satietatem gloriae occurrere. Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam,[1] Thraciam, Spartam, Achaeos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia ductu meo,
3 alia imperio auspicioque perdomui, ecce orsi[2] bellum ab Hellesponto Ionas, Aeolidem servitio barbariae impotentis exemimus, Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Ciliciam, Syriam, Phoenicen, Armeniam, Persidem,
4 Medos, Parthienen habemus in potestate. Plures provincias complexus sum, quam alii urbes ceperunt, et nescio an enumeranti mihi quaedam ipsarum
5 rerum multitudo subduxerit. Itaque si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tanta velocitate domuimus, ego vero, milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem sororesque et ceteros cives, vel retinentibus vobis, erumperem, ut ibi potissimum parta vobiscum laude et gloria fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriae praemia expectant, liberum, coniugum parentumque laetitia, pacis quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secura possessio.
6 "Sed in novo et, si verum fateri volumus, precario

[1] Boeotiam *Aldus;* boetiam *A.* [2] orsi *I;* orsum *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 74. 3.

[b] He has already mentioned Sparta and Achaia in the Peloponnesus.

[c] The singular is as common in such expressions as the plural; see Livy iii. 42. 2; iv. 20. 6, etc.

the common soldiers for what he was to say. When everything that seemed to be to the purpose had been sufficiently arranged, he ordered the army to be called to an assembly, and delivered to it a speech in the following terms [a]:

III. "When you look back, soldiers, upon the greatness of the deeds which we have done, it is not surprising that you feel a desire for repose and a
2 satiety of glory. To say nothing of the Illyrians, the Triballi, Boeotia, Thrace, Sparta, the Achaeans, the Peloponnesus in general,[b] some of whom I have subdued under my own leadership, others under my
3 command and auspices,[c] lo! beginning war at the Hellespont, we have freed the Ionians and Aeolis from slavery to a savage barbarian, we have made ourselves masters of Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, the Pisidians, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Armenia, Persia, the Medes,
4 and Parthienê. The provinces of which I have taken possession outnumber the cities which others have captured, and I verily believe that in enumerating our exploits their very number has caused me to
5 forget some of them. Therefore, if I believed that the possession of the lands which we have so quickly subdued were wholly secure, I myself, my soldiers, even if you wished to hold me back, would rush to my home, to my mother and sisters, and to the rest of our fellow countrymen, in order that there rather than elsewhere I might enjoy with you the praise and glory which we have won, where the richest rewards of victory await us, the happiness of our children, wives and parents, the repose of peace, the sure possession of the fruits of our valour.

6 "But in a new and, if we wish to confess the truth,

imperio, adhuc iugum eius rigida cervice subeuntibus barbaris, tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis imbuuntur et efferatos melior consuetudo
7 permulcet. Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore expectant; adeo etiam illa sensus omnis
8 expertia tamen sua lege mitescunt. Quid? creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine assuetas, non sacris, non[1] moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum cohaerentes eodem proelio domitas esse quo victae sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus et,[a] qui praesentes metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia
9 ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat. Et adhuc sic ago, tamquam omnia subacta sint armis, quae fuerunt in dicione Darei. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit, Bactra non possidet solum parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur, Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, Indi sui iuris sunt. Omnes hi, simul
10 terga nostra viderint,[2] illos sequentur[4]; illi enim eiusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenae et externi. Suis quisque[5] autem placidius paret, etiam cum is praeest, qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut quae cepimus[6] omittenda sunt, aut quae non habemus occupanda.
11 "Sicut in corporibus aegris, milites, nihil quod

[1] non *added by Lauer; A omits.*
[2] et *Modius;* sed *A.* [3] viderint *I;* uiderunt *A.*
[4] illos sequentur *Jeep;* sinequentur *P m. pr.;* sisequentur C.
[5] suis quisque *Modius;* suisque *A.*
[6] cepimus *J. Froben;* coepimus *A.*

[a] *Cf.* v. 8. 12.
[b] *Cf.* Florus iv. 12. 2 *inflataeque cervices*; Amm. xiv. 6. 5 *post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas.*

insecure [a] empire, to whose yoke the barbarians still submit with obdurate [b] necks, there is need of time, my soldiers, until they are trained to milder dispositions, and until better habits appease their
7 savage temper. The fruits of the earth also look forward to ripeness at its appointed season, so true is it that even those things, devoid of sense as they are, nevertheless grow soft in accordance with a law
8 of their own. Well, then! Do you believe that so many nations accustomed to the rule and name of another, united with us neither by religion, nor customs, nor community of language, have been subdued in the same battle in which they were overcome? [c] It is by your arms that they are restrained, not by their dispositions, and those who fear us when we are present, in our absence will be enemies. We are dealing with savage beasts, which lapse of time only can tame when they are caught and caged,
9 because their own nature cannot tame them. And I am so far speaking as if our arms had subdued everything that was under the sway of Darius. Nabarzanes has taken possession of Hyrcania, the murderer Bessus not only holds Bactra, but he also threatens us; the Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, and Indi are independent. All these, as soon as they see our backs,
10 will follow them; for they are of the same nation, we are of an alien race and foreigners. Moreover, everyone obeys his own rulers with better grace, even when he who dominates them can be more feared. Accordingly, we must either give up what we have taken, or we must seize what we do not yet hold.
11 "Just as in ailing bodies, my soldiers, physicians

[c] *Cf.* Florus iv. 12. 30 *Germani victi magis quam domiti erant.*

nociturum est medici relinquunt, sic nos quidquid obstat imperio recidamus. Parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tuto in hoste despicitur; quem spreveris, valentiorem neglegentia facias. 12 Ne Dareus quidem hereditarium Persarum accepit imperium, sed est[1] in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagoae, castrati hominis, admissus; ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum. 13 Nos vero peccavimus, milites, si Dareum ob hoc vicimus, ut servo eius traderemus imperium, qui ultimum ausus scelus, regem suum, etiam externae opis egentem, certe cui nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit, ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. 14 Hunc vos regnare patiemini? Quem equidem cruci affixum videre festino, omnibus regibus gentibusque et fidei quam violavit meritas poenas solventem. 15 At, hercules,[2] si mox eundem Graecorum urbes aut Hellespontum vastare nuntiatum erit vobis, quo dolore afficiemini Bessum praemia vestrae occupavisse victoriae! Tunc ad repetendas res festinabitis, tunc arma capietis. Quanto autem praestat territum adhuc et vix mentis suae compotem opprimere!

16 "Quadridui nobis iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium iuga transcucurrimus. Non mare illud, quod exaes-

[1] est *added by Hedicke.*
[2] hercules *P m. pr.;* hercule *C.*

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[a] A frequent comparison in the schools of rhetoric; *cf.* v. 9. 3; Sulp. in Cic. *Ad Fam.* iv. 5; Cic. *Pro Cluent.* xxi. 57.

[b] See Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff.

[c] *Cf.* vii. 5. 40.

[d] Curtius usually omits *suae* in this expression; Cicero sometimes has the possessive adjective, sometimes not; *cf.* *In Pisonem* xx. 48 and xx. 47.

leave nothing which will do harm,[a] so let us cut away whatever stands in the way of our rule. Often to have ignored a tiny spark has roused a great conflagration. Nothing is safely despised in an enemy; one whom you have scorned you make stronger by
12 neglect. Not even Darius received the rule of the Persians by right of succession, but he was admitted to the throne of Cyrus by the favour of Bagoas, a eunuch[b]; so do not suppose that it will be hard
13 labour for Bessus to seize a vacant kingdom. We certainly committed a sin, soldiers, if we conquered Darius for the purpose of turning over the sovereignty to his slave, who, having dared the worst of crimes, held his king in fetters, like a captive, even when he was in need of aid from without, and whom we, the victors, would surely have spared, and finally slew
14 him in order that he might not be saved by us. Will you suffer such a man to rule? A man whom I, for my part, am in haste to see nailed to a cross,[c] thus paying a well-deserved penalty to all kings and
15 nations, and to loyalty, which he desecrated. But, by Heaven! if presently it shall have been announced that the same wretch is laying waste the cities of the Greeks and the Hellespont, what grief will you feel that a Bessus has robbed you of the fruits of your victory! Then you will hurry to recover what is yours, then you will take up arms. But how much better it is to crush him while he is still in fear and almost beside himself.[d]

16 "A march of four days[e] is left for us, who have trodden so many snows, have passed over so many rivers, crossed the heights of so many mountains. Not that sea, which with its rising tide covers the

[e] The actual distance was 3700 stadia; Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 45.

tuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur, non Ciliciae fauces et angustiae includunt; plana omnia et prona sunt. In ipso limine victoriae stamus.
17 Pauci nobis fugitivi et domini sui interfectores supersunt. Egregium, mehercule, opus et inter prima gloriae vestrae numerandum posteritati famaeque tradetis, Dareum quoque hostem, finito post mortem illius odio, parricidae caede[1] esse vos ultos, neminem
18 impium effugisse vestras manus. Hoc perpetrato, quanto creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint vos pia bella suscipere et Bessi sceleri, non nomini suo irasci?"

IV. Summa militum alacritate iubentium[2] quo-
2 cumque vellet ducere, oratio excepta est. Nec rex moratur[3] impetum, tertioque per Parthienen die ad fines Hyrcaniae penetrat, Cratero relicto cum eis copiis quibus praeerat et ea[4] manu quam Amyntas ducebat, additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione barbarorum Parthienen tueretur.
3 Erigyium[5] impedimenta, modico praesidio dato, campestri itinere ducere iubet. Ipse cum phalange et equitatu CL stadia emensus, castra in valle qua Hyrcaniam adeunt communit. Nemus praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est, pingue vallis solum rigantibus aquis quae ex petris imminentibus manant.

[1] parricidae caede *Bentley;* parricidas *A*.
[2] iubentium *J. Froben;* subeuntium *A* (subeuncium *V*).
[3] moratur *Hedicke;* moratus *A*.
[4] ea *Freinshem;* ex *A*.
[5] Erigyium *J. Froben;* phrygum *P;* phrigum *BV;* prhigum *L;* frigum *F*.

[a] *Cf.* v. 3. 22. [b] This is not true.
[c] *Cf. impia bella*, iv. 1. 12.
[d] The account of this march against Hyrcania is more clearly given by Arr. iii. 23. 2 ff.

road with its waves,[a] delays our march, not the passes and narrows of Cilicia shut us in, the whole country is level and easy.[b] We stand on the very
17 threshold of victory. A few runaways and slayers of their master remain for us. A noble work, by Heaven! and one to be numbered among the chief of your glorious deeds you will hand down to posterity and to fame, namely, that you have avenged even Darius, your enemy, having ended your hatred of him after his death, by slaying his murderer, and
18 that no impious man has escaped your hands. When this has been accomplished, how much more submissive do you think that the Persians will be, when they know that you undertake pious wars,[c] and that it is the crime of Bessus, not the Persian name, that inflames your wrath?"

IV. The address was received with the greatest enthusiasm of the soldiers, who bade him lead them
2 whithersoever he wished. Nor did the king delay their ardour, but two days later he made his way through Parthienê to the borders of Hyrcania,[a] having left Craterus with the forces under his command and the band which Amyntas was leading, besides 600 horsemen and the same number of archers, to protect Parthienê from any inroad of the
3 barbarians. He ordered Erigyius to conduct the baggage by the route through the plains, having given him a moderate escort. He himself with the phalanx and the cavalry, after traversing 150 stadia, fortified a camp in the valley through which one enters Hyrcania. There is a grove shaded by a dense growth of very tall trees, where the rich soil of the valley is watered by streams which flow from
4 the overhanging rocks. From the very roots of the

4 Ex ipsis radicibus montium Stiboetes[1] amnis effunditur, qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem universus fluit, deinde saxo, quod alveolum interpellat, repercussus, duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis aperit.
5 Inde torrens et saxorum per quae incurrit asperitate violentior, terram praeceps subit. Per ccc stadia conditus labitur rursusque, velut ex alio fonte conceptus, editur et novum alveum intendit priore sui
6 parte spatiosior—quippe in latitudinem x et trium stadiorum diffunditur—rursusque angustioribus coercitus ripis iter cogit. Tandem in alterum amnem ca-
7 dit; Rhidagno nomen est. Incolae affirmabant, quaecumque[2] demissa[3] essent in cavernam quae propior est fonti rursus ubi aliud os amnis aperitur existere; itaque Alexander boves,[4] qua subeunt aquae terram, praecipitari iubet, quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa videre qui missi erant ut exciperent.
8 Quartum iam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat, accepit, quarum sententia haec erat: se Dareo non fuisse inimicum, immo etiam quae credidisset utilia esse suasisse et, quia fidele
9 consilium regi dedisset, prope occisum ab eo. Agitasse Dareum custodiam corporis sui contra ius fasque peregrino militi tradere, damnata popularium fide, quam per ducentos et triginta[5] annos inviolatam

[1] Stiboetes *Hedicke;* ziobetis *A* (ziobecis *L*).
[2] quaecumque *I;* quicumque *A*.
[3] demissa *Kinch;* dimissa *P*.
[4] boves *Bentley;* duos *A*.
[5] ducentos et triginta *J. Froben;* ii et ccc *A*.

[a] See Arr. iii. 23. 3 ff.
[b] This expression is used also of direct quotations; *cf.* Sall. *Jug.* ix. 1; so also *summa*, Curt. vi. 9. 14.

mountains the Stiboetes River gushes forth, which flows as a single stream for a distance of nearly three stadia, then, dashed against a rock which obstructs its little channel, it forms two branches, as if by
5 a distribution of its waters. From there a torrent, made more violent by the rough stones over which it runs, it plunges headlong under the earth. For 300 stadia it glides on in a hidden course, and again, as if reborn from another source, it comes to the surface and cuts a new channel, wider than its former
6 one—for it expands to a width of thirteen stadia—and once more contracts its course within narrower banks. At last it empties into another river; it is
7 called the Rhidagnus. The natives asserted that whatever articles had been thrown into the cavern which is nearer the river's source come out where the other mouth of the river opens; therefore Alexander gave orders that oxen be thrown in where the waters go under the earth, and those who were sent to intercept them saw their bodies thrown out where the river bursts forth again.

8 Alexander had already given the soldiers a rest for the fourth day in the same place,[a] when from Nabarzanes, who with Bessus had taken Darius prisoner, he received a letter, of which this was the purport[b]: That he had not been an enemy of Darius, quite on the contrary, he had given him what he believed to be salutary advice, and because he had given the king faithful counsel, he had barely escaped
9 with his life. That Darius had meditated handing over the guardianship of his person to foreign soldiers, contrary to what was just and right, distrusting the loyalty of his own subjects, which for two hundred and thirty years they had preserved inviolate to their

10 regibus suis praestitissent. Se, in praecipiti et lubrico stantem, consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse. Dareum quoque, cum occidisset Bagoan, hac excusatione satisfecisse popularibus, quod in-
11 sidiantem interemisset. Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius ; amore eius ad ultima esse propulsum. Sed ea magis esse secutum quam optasse.[1] In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam.
12 Si venire se iuberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere ne fidem datam tantus rex violaret ;
13 deos a deo falli non solere. Ceterum si cui fidem daret videretur indignus, multa exsilia patere fugienti ; patriam esse ubicumque vir fortis sedem
14 sibi elegerit. Nec dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persae modo accipiebant, dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore.

Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat, speculatores subinde praemittens, qui explorarent loca.
15 Levis armatura ducebat agmen, phalanx eam sequebatur, post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa et naturae situs difficilis aditu curam regis
16 intenderat. Namque perpetua vallis iacet usque ad mare Caspium patens, quo[2] terrae eius velut brachia excurrunt ; media flexu modico sinum faciunt lunae

[1] quam optasse *Bentley;* quae optasset A.
[2] quo *Stangl;* duo *A.*

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[a] See vi. 3. 12.
[b] *Cf.* vi. 5. 4 ; Diod. xvi. 43. 4.
[c] *i.e.* in order of battle, since he did not trust Nabarzanes.
[d] This does not conflict with vi. 4. 3. The reference is to the part of the baggage which was needed on the march.
[e] This refers to the southern part of the Caspian Sea.

10 kings. For his own part, standing as he was on dangerous and slippery ground, he had taken counsel from his immediate necessity. Darius also, when he had killed Bagoas,[a] had satisfied his countrymen with this excuse, that he had killed the eunuch because
11 he was plotting against him. That nothing was more precious to wretched mortals than life; that it was from love of this that he had been driven to extremities. But those acts he had yielded to, rather than desired. In a general calamity each man has regard to his own fortune.

12 If Alexander should order Nabarzanes to come to him, he would come without fear. He had no apprehension that so great a king would violate a pledge which he had given; the gods were not wont
13 to be deceived by a god. But if Nabarzanes should be thought unworthy of receiving a pledge, many places of exile were open to his flight; wherever a brave man has chosen his home, there is his native
14 land. Alexander did not hesitate to give a pledge, in the manner in which the Persians were wont to receive them,[b] that if he should come, he would be unharmed.

Nevertheless Alexander went on with his army in square formation [c] and in good order, sending scouts ahead from time to time, to reconnoitre the country.
15 The light-armed troops led the march, the phalanx followed them, after the infantry was the baggage.[d] Both the warlike race and the nature of their position, which was difficult of access, had put the king
16 on his guard. For there is a continuous valley extending as far as the Caspian Sea, to which arms, so to speak, of that land jut forth [e]; these, bending slightly in the middle, form a curve very like the

maxime similem, cum eminent cornua, nondum
17 totum orbem sidere implente. Cercetae et Mossyni et Chalybes[1] a laeva sunt et ab altera parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi; et illos qua vergit ad septen-
18 trionem, hos ad occasum conversa prospectat. Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit; piscium in eo longe diversi ab aliis colores.[2] Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanium appellant; alii sunt, qui Maeotiam paludem in id cadere putent et argumentum afferant[3] aquam, quod dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore
19 mitescere. A septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat; idem alio caeli statu recipit in se fretum eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens terram naturae suae reddit. Et quidam credidere non Caspium mare esse, sed ex India in Hyrcaniam Oceanum[4] cadere, cuius fastigium, ut supra dictum est, perpetua valle submittitur.
20 Hinc rex xx stadia processit semita propemodum invia, cui silva imminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur; nullo tamen hoste obvio, pene-

[1] Chalybes *J. Froben;* calibes *A.*
[2] colores *Koehler;* colorem *A.*
[3] adferant *Hedicke;* adferent *A.*
[4] Oceanum *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] *i.e.* the crescent moon. [b] *i.e.* westwards.

[c] vi. 5. 24 shows that Curtius had in mind the Amazons of Themiscyra on the Pontus; but it was a different group which dwelt on the Caspian.

[d] Curtius is more cautious and more accurate than Pliny, who says (*N.H.* vi. 45 f.) *haustum ipsius maris dulcem esse et Alexander Magnus prodidit.*

[e] The fact is, that different names are applied to different

moon with its horns standing out when that heavenly
17 body does not yet fill out its complete orb.[a] The Cercetae and the Mossyni, and the Chalybes are on the left,[b] and on the other side the fields of the Leucosyri and the Amazons[c]; and it looks towards the latter where it slopes towards the north, to the
18 former when it is turned towards the west. The Caspian Sea, which is fresher than others,[d] breeds serpents of huge size; the colours of the fish in it are very different from others. Some call it Caspian, others Hyrcanian[e]; there are still others who think that the Maeotic pool empties into it, and they advance as evidence the water, because it is fresher than the other seas, since the water from the pool which has flowed into it tempers its saltness.
19 Towards the north a great sea rushes upon the shore, drives its waves far, and like a rising tide forms a pool of great extent; but in another condition of the weather[f] the sea retires into itself, and with the same force with which it poured in, it flows back and restores the land to its natural condition. And some have thought that this is not the Caspian Sea, but that the Ocean makes its way from India into Hyrcania,[g] whose high land, as was said before, sinks into an uninterrupted valley.
20 From here the king proceeded for twenty stadia by an almost impassable path, which a forest overhung, while torrents and floods delayed the march;

parts of the sea; Mela (v. 3. 19) mentions also *Scythicum*. *Cf.* Arr. vii. 16. 2 ff.

[f] That is, a different direction of the wind.

[g] A popular belief was that the northern Ocean lay not far north of India, the Caspian, and Hyrcania, and had an inlet into the Caspian.

tratum[1] tandemque ad cultiora[2] perventum est.
21 Praeter alios commeatus, quorum tum copia regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur,
22 et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. Frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur, sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur.
23 xxx hinc stadia processerat, cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit, seque et eos qui post Darei mortem profugerant dedens ; quibus benigne exceptis, ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyius[3]
24 occurrunt. Praefectum Tapurorum gentis, Phradatem, adduxerant ; hic quoque in fidem receptus, multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam regis.
25 Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae dedit Amminaspin[4]; exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum pervenerat. Tapurorum[5] quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

V. Iamque ultima Hyrcaniae intraverat, cum Artabazus, quem Dareo fidissimum fuisse supra diximus, cum propinquis Darei ac suis liberis modicaque
2 Graecorum militum manu occurrit. Dextram venienti obtulit rex ; quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cum Ocho regnante exsularet, et hospitii pignora in regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat.
3 Comiter igitur exceptus : " Tu quidem," inquit, " rex, deos quaeso, perpetua felicitate floreas ; ego

[1] penetratum *Bentley;* penetrat *C;* penetrant *P m. pr.*
[2] cultiora *I;* *ultiora *P;* ulteriora *BFL;* ultierora *V.*
[3] Erigyius *J. Froben;* eriguus *A.*
[4] Amminaspin *Fuhr;* manapin *P m. pr.;* manapi *C.*
[5] Tapurorum *Aldus;* Taurorum *A.*

[a] *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* xii. 8. 18 ; identified by some with manna.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iii. *22.* 1. [c] See v. 9. 1.

yet since no enemy met them, they passed through,
21 and finally came to more cultivated places. Besides other supplies, of which the region then had an abundance, a huge amount of fruits is grown, and
22 the soil is very rich in producing grapes. A kind of tree which is common there resembles an oak, the leaves of which are bedewed with a great deal of honey [a]; but unless the natives gather it before sunrise, the sap is destroyed by even a moderate warmth.
23 From there Alexander had advanced for thirty stadia, when Phrataphernes met him, surrendering himself and those who had fled after the death of Darius; having received them courteously, the king came to the town of Arvae. There Craterus and
24 Erigyius met him. They had brought Phradates, governor of the tribe of the Tapuri; he also was received under protection, and was an example to many in entrusting themselves to the king's clemency.
25 Then Alexander made Amminaspes [b] satrap of Hyrcania; he had come to Philip as an exile during the reign of Ochus. Alexander also restored the tribe of the Tapuri to Phradates.

V. And already the king had entered the farthest part of Hyrcania, when Artabazus, who, as we have said before,[c] had been most faithful to Darius, met him with his own children and the relatives of Darius,
2 as well as with a small band of Greek soldiers. On his arrival the king offered him his right hand; for he had been a guest of Philip when he was in exile in the reign of Ochus, but the loyalty to his king, which he had maintained to the end, prevailed over the pledges
3 of guest-friendship. Being therefore affably greeted, he said: "May you for your part, king, I pray the gods, enjoy perpetual happiness; I, though in all

ceteris laetus hoc uno torqueor, quod praecipiti
4 senectute diu frui tua bonitate non possum." Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. Novem iuvenes, omnes eadem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur; hos Artabazus dexterae regis admovit, precatus ut
5 tam diu viverent donec utiles Alexandro essent. Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat; tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos iussit, ne ipso ingrediente pedibus senex equo vehi erubesceret.

6 Ut deinde castra sunt posita, Graecos quos Artabazus adduxerat convocari iubet; at illi, nisi fides Lacedaemoniis quoque et Sinopensibus[1] daretur, respondent se quid[2] agendum ipsis foret deliberaturos.
7 Legati erant Lacedaemoniorum missi ad Dareum; quo victo, applicuerant se Graecis mercede apud
8 Persas militantibus. Rex, omissis sponsionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos iussit, fortunam quam ipse dedisset habituros. Diu cunctantes plerisque consilia variantibus tandem venturos se pollicentur.
9 At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, desperata venia, gladio se transfigit. Ceteri, sicut constituerant, dicioni Alex-
10 andri ipsos se permittunt. M et D milites erant, praeter hos legati ad Dareum missi XC. In supplementum distributus miles, ceteri remissi domum

[1] Sinopensibus *Modius;* est inopensibus *A*.
[2] se quid *Giunta;* si quid *A*.

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[a] *Cf.* Livy iv. 9. 13 *praecipiti die.*
[b] For *admovit cf.* iii. 12. 26; viii. 3. 3; etc.
[c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 24. 4.
[d] *i.e.* indecision rather than difference of opinion.
[e] Otherwise unknown; Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* 3513.
[f] So both Arrian (iii. 23. 9) and Diodorus (xvii. 76. 2).

other respects happy, am grieved by this alone, that because of hastening[a] old age I cannot long enjoy
4 your kindness." He was in his ninety-fifth year. Nine young men, all born of the same mother, accompanied their father; these Artabazus caused to take[b] the king's right hand, praying that they might live
5 so long as they might be helpful to Alexander. The king generally made a journey on foot; on that occasion he ordered horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, in order that the aged man might not feel ashamed to ride a horse while the king himself went on foot.

6 Then, after a camp had been pitched, the king ordered the Greeks whom Artabazus had brought to be called together; but they replied that unless a pledge of safety was given also to the Lacedaemonians and to the men of Sinopê,[c] they would con-
7 sider what step they ought to take. These had been sent as envoys of the Lacedaemonians to Darius, and after the defeat of that king had attached themselves to the Greeks who were serving as mercenaries with
8 the Persians. The king, having given them no pledges of protection nor promises, ordered them to come to him and to accept such fortune as he himself would give them. After long hesitation and many changes of mind,[d] they finally promised that they
9 would come. But Democrates,[e] an Athenian, who had always been prominent in opposing the Macedonian power, despairing of pardon, fell upon his sword. All the rest, as they had decided, surrendered
10 at discretion to Alexander. They numbered 1500 soldiers,[f] and besides these, ninety who had been sent as envoys to Darius. The soldiers were distributed as additions to the king's troops, the rest were

praeter Lacedaemonios, quos tradi in custodiam iussit.

11 Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera et latrociniis assueta; haec sola nec legatos miserat nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere ne invictus esset, impedimentis cum praesidio relictis, 12 valida[1] manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et prima luce hostis in conspectu erat; tumultus magis quam proelium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus quos occupaverant, barbari profugerunt, proximique 13 vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. Interiora regionis eius haud sane adiri sine magna vexatione exercitus poterant; iuga montium, praealtae silvae rupesque inviae saepiunt, ea quae plana sunt novo munimenti 14 genere impedierant barbari. Arbores densae sunt de industria consitae; quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terrae; 15 inde velut ex alia radice laetiores virent trunci. Hos, qua Natura fert, adolescere non sinunt; quippe alium alii quasi nexu conserunt. Qui ubi multa fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram. Itaque occulti ramorum velut laquei perpetua saepe iter cludunt.[2] 16 Una ratio erat caedendo aperire saltum, sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se implicati arborum rami,

[1] valida *Mützell;* inuicta *A.*
[2] cludunt *Modius;* cludi**t *P;* cludit *C.*

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[a] Mardi or Amardi; *cf.* Strabo xi. 508, Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 36 (Amarbi MSS.).
[b] *Cf. tumultuariae manus*, iv. 16. 24.

sent home except the Lacedaemonians whom he ordered to be held under guard.

11 The Mardi were a race bordering on Hyrcania,[a] a people of rude habits of life and accustomed to brigandage; they alone had neither sent envoys, nor seemed likely to be obedient to orders. Hence the king, piqued by the thought that one race might prevent him from having been "invincible," having left the baggage with a guard, went on, accompanied
12 by a strong force. He had made the march by night, and at daybreak the enemy was in sight; it was rather a tumult[b] than a battle. Dislodged from the hills of which they had taken possession, the barbarians fled, and the nearest villages, deserted by their inhabitants,
13 were taken. The interior parts of that region, however, could not be approached without greatly fatiguing the army; ranges of mountains, lofty forests, and impassable rocks shut them in, and such parts as are level the barbarians had obstructed by a novel
14 kind of fortification. Trees are purposely planted close together; while their branches are still tender, they bend them down with their hands, twist them together, and again insert them in the earth; then, as if from another root, more vigorous trunks spring.
15 They do not allow these to grow in the direction which Nature carries them, but they join them together, as if interlacing them. When they are clad in abundant foliage, they hide the ground; and so the secret snares, so to speak, of the branches
16 shut in the road by a continuous hedge. The only expedient was to cut an opening into the woods, but this too was a task of great difficulty. For the many knots had hardened the trunks, and the interlaced branches of the trees, like so many

suspensis circulis similes, lento vimine frustrabantur ictus.

17 Incolae autem ritu ferarum virgulta subire soliti, tum quoque intraverant saltum occultisque telis hostem lacessebant. Ille venantium modo latibula scrutatus plerosque confodit, ad ultimum circumire saltum milites iubet, ut, si qua pateret, irrumperent.

18 Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant, exceptique sunt quidam, inter quos equus regis—Bucephalam vocabant—, quem Alexander non eodem quo ceteras pecudes animo aestimabat. Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium, et regem, cum vellet escendere, sponte genua submittens excipiebat

19 credebaturque sentire quem veheret. Maiore ergo quam decebat ira simul ac dolore stimulatus, equum vestigari iubet et per interpretem pronuntiari, ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hac denuntiatione territi, cum ceteris donis equum adducunt.

20 Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus, caedi silvas iubet, aggestaque humo e montibus, planitiem ramis im-

21 peditam exaggerari. Iam in[1] aliquantum altitudinis opus creverat, cum barbari desperato regionem quam occupaverant posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex obsidibus acceptis Phradati parere[2] eos iussit.

22 Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum

[1] in *added by Acidalius.*
[2] parere *Freinshem;* tradere *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. v. 19. 5; Diod. xvii. 76. 5 ff.

suspended festoons, by their tough interwoven shoots would bring to naught the strokes of the axe.

17 The natives, however, being accustomed to crawl under the thickets like wild beasts, then also had entered the woods and from concealment were assailing their enemy with weapons. Alexander, tracing them to their lairs as hunters do, slew many of them, and finally ordered the soldiers to encircle the forest, and to rush in if they could find an opening anywhere;

18 but in the unknown country many of them strayed and lost their way, and some were captured, among them the king's horse—they called him Bucephalas [a] —which Alexander valued more highly than all other animals. For he would not allow anyone else to sit upon his back, and when the king wished to mount him, he knelt down of its own accord to receive him,

19 and seemed to know whom he was carrying. Therefore aroused with greater anger than was seemly and at the same time with grief, the king gave orders that the horse should be traced, and that proclamation should be made through an interpreter, that unless it should be returned, not a man would be left alive. Terrified by this threat, along with other

20 gifts they brought the horse. But not even by this made milder, the king ordered the woods to be cut down and earth to be brought from the mountains and heaped upon the plain which was made impass-

21 able by the branches. And this work had already risen to a considerable height, when the barbarians, despairing of being able to hold the region which they had occupied, surrendered their nation. The king, after having received hostages, ordered them to submit to Phradates.

22 Then, four days later, the king returned to his

deinde, geminato honore quem Dareus habuerat ei, remittit domum. Iam ad urbem Hyrcaniae in qua regia Darei fuit ventum erat; ibi Nabarzanes accepta
23 fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens. Inter quae Bagoas erat, specie singulari spado atque in ipso flore pueritiae, cui et Dareus assuerat[1] et mox Alexander assuevit; eiusque maxime precibus motus Nabarzani ignovit.

24 Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniae finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae
25 incolentium campos. Reginam habebant Thalestrin, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem. Haec, cupidine visendi regis accensa, finibus regni sui excessit et, cum haud procul abesset, praemisit indicantes venisse reginam adeundi eius
26 cognoscendique avidam. Protinus facta potestas est[2] veniendi. Ceteris iussis subsistere, trecentis feminarum comitata processit atque, ut primum rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiluit duas lanceas dex-
27 tera praeferens. Vestis non tota[3] Amazonum corpori obducitur; nam laeva pars ad pectus est nuda, cetera deinde velantur. Nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo
28 colligunt, infra genua descendit. Altera papilla intacta servatur qua muliebris sexus liberos alant;

[1] adsuerat *Hedicke* fuerat *P;* adsuetus fuerat *C.*
[2] potestas est *Hedicke;* potestate *A.*
[3] tota *Hedicke;* toto *A.*

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[a] Probably Arvae (Zadracarta, Arr. iii. 23. 6); *cf.* vi. 4. 23.
[b] See x. 1. 25. [c] See vi. 4. 17, note.
[d] On the probability of this story see Plut. *Alex.* xlvi.

permanent camp. From there he sent Artabazus home, after conferring on him double the honour which Darius had paid him. Now they had come to the city of Hyrcania in which the palace of Darius had been [a]; there Nabarzanes, having received a safe
23 conduct, met him, bringing great gifts. Among these was Bagoas,[b] a eunuch of remarkable beauty and in the very flower of boyhood, who had been loved by Darius and was afterwards to be loved by Alexander; and it was especially because of the boy's entreaties that he was led to pardon Nabarzanes.
24 There was, as was said before,[c] neighbouring on Hyrcania, a race of Amazons, inhabiting the plains of
25 Themiscyra, about the river Thermodon. They had a queen, Thalestris, who ruled all who dwelt between the Caucasus mountains and the river Phasis. She, fired with a desire to visit the king,[d] came forth from the boundaries of her kingdom, and when she was not far away sent messengers to give notice that a queen had come who was eager to meet him and to become acquainted with him. She was at once given permis-
26 sion to come. Having ordered the rest of her escort to halt, she came forward attended by three hundred women, and as soon as the king was in sight, she herself leaped down from her horse, carrying two
27 lances in her right hand. The clothing of the Amazons does not wholly cover the body; for the left side is nude as far as the breast, then the other parts of the body are veiled. However, the fold of the robe, which they gather in a knot,[e] does not
28 reach below the knee. One nipple is left untouched, and with it they nourish their female children [f]; the

[e] *Cf.* Virg. *Aen.* i. 320.

[f] The males were given to the fathers to rear.

aduritur dextera, ut arcus facilius intendant et tela vibrent.

29 Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum eius haudquaquam rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans; quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum maiestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare 30 natura dignata est. Ceterum interrogata num aliquid petere vellet, haud dubitavit fateri ad communicandos cum rege liberos se venisse, dignam ex qua ipse regni generaret heredes; feminini sexus se 31 retenturam, marem reddituram patri. Alexander an cum ipso militare vellet interrogat; at illa causata sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseverabat 32 ne se irritam spei abire pateretur. Acrior ad venerem feminae cupido quam regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium desiderii eius absumpti sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, rex Parthienen petiverunt.

VI. Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit continentiamque et moderationem, in altissima quaque fortuna eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam 2 vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam et civilem habitum velut leviora magnitudine sua ducens, Persicae regiae 3 par deorum potentiae fastigium aemulabatur; iacere

[a] A delicate expression. In Diod. xvii. 77. 2 she frankly says *παιδοποιίας ἕνεκεν ἥκω*.

[b] So also Plut. *Alex.* xxxviii; Diod. xvii. 72. 2; Justin xii. 3. Hence apparently from one source and less credible.

[c] *Civilem, cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 72 (of Tiberius); i. 33 (of Germanicus).

right is seared, in order that they may more easily stretch their bows and hurl their spears.

29 With fearless expression Thalestris gazed at the king, carefully surveying his person, which did not by any means correspond to the fame of his exploits; for all the barbarians feel veneration for a majestic presence, and believe that only those are capable of great deeds whom nature has deigned to adorn with
30 extraordinary physical attractiveness. However, on being asked whether she wished to make any request, she did not hesitate to confess that she had come to share children with the king,[a] being worthy that he should beget from her heirs to his kingdom; that she would retain any female offspring but would return
31 a male to his father. Alexander asked her whether she wished to serve in war with him; but she, giving as an excuse that she had left her realm without a guard, persisted in asking that he should not suffer
32 her to go away disappointed in her hope. The passion of the woman, being, as she was, more keen for love than the king, compelled him to remain there for a few days. Thirteen days were spent in satisfying her desire. Then she went to her kingdom, and the king to Parthienê.

VI. It was in fact at this time[b] that Alexander gave loose rein to his passions, and changed continence and self-control, eminent virtues in every exalted fortune, to haughtiness and wantonness.
2 Regarding his native customs and the discipline of the Macedonian kings, wholesomely restrained and democratic,[c] as too low for his grandeur, he strove to rival the loftiness of the Persian court, equal to
3 the power of the gods; he demanded that the victors over so many nations in paying their respects

humi venerabundos[1] ipsum paulatimque servilibus ministeriis tot victores gentium imbuere et captivis
4 pares facere expetebat.[2] Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti
5 transiret habitum. Et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur.
6 Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris anuli gemma obsignabat, eis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darei anulus imprimebatur, ut appareret unum ani-
7 mum duorum non capere fortunam. Amicos vero et equites unaque[3] principes militum, aspernantes quidem, sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverat[4]
8 vestibus. Pelices CCC et LXV,[5] totidem quot Darei fuerant, regiam implebant, quas spadonum greges, et ipsi muliebria pati assueti, sequebantur.
9 Haec luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam aversabantur, totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, plus amissum victoria quam bello esse
10 quaesitum; cum maxime vinci ipsos deditos[6] alienis moribus et externis. Quo tandem ore[7] domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros? Pudere iam sui regem;

[1] venerabundos *Vindelinus;* uenerabundus *A.*
[2] expetebat *I;* expectabat *A.*
[3] unaque *Bentley;* hii namque *C;* hi*namque *P.*
[4] ornaverat *Vindelinus;* onerauerat *A.*
[5] CCC et LXV *Vogel;* CCCC et LX *A.*
[6] deditos *Bentley;* dedique *A.*
[7] quo tandem ore *Jeep;* quo tante more *A.*

[a] The *cidaris*, see iii. 3. 19.
[b] *i.e.* the Companion Cavalry, οἱ ἑταῖροι ἱππεῖς; *cf.* vi. 2. 11, note, and Diod. xvii. 77. 5.

to him should prostrate themselves upon the ground, and gradually sought to accustom them to servile
4 duties and to treat them like captives. Accordingly, he encircled his brow with a purple diadem, variegated with white [a] such as Darius had worn, and assumed the Persian garb, not even fearing the omen of changing from the insignia of a victor to the
5 dress of the conquered. In fact, he used to say that he was wearing the spoils of the Persians ; but with them he had assumed also their customs, and insolence of spirit accompanied the magnificence of his
6 attire. The letters also which were to be sent to Europe he sealed with the device of his former ring ; on those which he wrote to Asia, the ring of Darius was impressed, so that it appeared that one mind was not equal to the fortune of the two realms.
7 Moreover, he compelled his friends, the cavalry,[b] and with them the leaders of the soldiers, to wear the Persian dress, which was indeed repugnant to them,
8 but which they did not dare to refuse. Three hundred and sixty-five concubines, the same number that Darius had had, filled his palace, attended by herds of eunuchs, also accustomed to prostitute themselves.
9 These practices, corrupted by luxury and foreign customs, were openly detested by the veteran soldiers of Philip, a people novices in voluptuousness, and in the whole camp the feeling and the talk of all was the same, namely, that more had been lost by victory
10 than had been gained by war ; that it was then above all that they themselves were conquered men, when they had surrendered themselves to alien and foreign habits. With what face, pray, would they return to their homes, as if in the attire of prisoners ? The king was already ashamed of them since, resemb-

victis quam victoribus similiorem, ex Macedoniae
11 imperatore Darei satrapen factum. Ille, non ignarus et principes amicorum et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare temptabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum
12 est. Igitur, ne in seditionem res verteretur, otium interpellandum erat bello, cuius materia opportune
13 alebatur. Namque Bessus, veste regia sumpta, Artaxerxen appellari se iusserat Scythasque et ceteros Tanais accolas contrahebat.

Haec Satibarzanes nuntiabat; quem receptum in
14 fidem regioni quam antea obtinuerat praefecit. Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriae agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde totius exercitus sarcinas, exceptis admodum necessariis, conferri[1]
15 iussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat, in quam[2] vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis quid deinde esset imperaturus, iumenta iussit abduci, suisque primum sarcinis face subdita, ceteras incendi.[3]
16 Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quae ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, saepe flammas restinxerant, nullo sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum
17 regias opes idem ignis exureret. Brevi deinde ratio mitigavit dolorem, habilesque militiae et ad omnia

[1] conferri *Lauer;* referre *A.*
[2] quam *Lauer;* qua *A.*
[3] incendi praecepit *A;* praecepit *deleted by Kinch.*

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[a] For *alebatur cf.* vii. 7. 17 *bellum alemus.*
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 25. 3.

ling the vanquished rather than the victors, he had changed from a ruler of Macedonia to a satrap of
11 Darius. The king, not unaware that the chief of his friends, and the army as well, were grievously offended, tried to win back their favour by liberality and by bounty. But, in my opinion, the price of
12 slavery is hateful to free men. Therefore, that the situation might not result in mutiny, it was necessary to put an end to their leisure by war, the material for which was opportunely increasing.[a]
13 For Bessus, having assumed regal attire, had given orders that he should be called Artaxerxes,[b] and was assembling the Scythians and the rest of the peoples dwelling by the Tanais.

This was announced by Satibarzanes, whom Alexander had received under his protection and had made satrap of the region which he had formerly governed.
14 And since the army, laden with spoils and the equipment of luxury, could with difficulty be moved, he ordered first his own baggage, then that of the whole army, to be gathered together in their midst, except
15 what was absolutely necessary. There was a spacious plain, into which they had driven the loaded wagons. When all were wondering what the king was going to order next, he commanded that the animals be led away, and, when he had first applied a torch to his
16 own pack, that the rest be burned. There were consumed, set on fire by their owners, the riches to save which unharmed from the cities of the enemy they had often extinguished flames, and no one dared to weep for the price of his blood, when the
17 same fire was consuming the king's wealth. Then in a short time reason soothed their grief, and, prepared for military service and ready for everything, they

parati laetabantur sarcinarum potius quam disciplinae fecisse iacturam.

18 Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, subita morte correptus,
19 magno desiderio sui affecerat cunctos. Rex, ante omnis maestus, cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri adfuturus, sed penuria commeatuum festinare cogebat; itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus et DC relictus, ut iusta fratri persolveret, ipse contendit ad Bessum.

20 Iter facienti ei litterae afferuntur a finitimis[1] satraparum, e quibus cognoscit Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu, ceterum Satibarzanen, quem satrapeae[2] Ariorum ipse praefecisset, defecisse
21 ab eo. Itaque quamquam Besso imminebat, tamen ad[3] Satibarzanen opprimendum praeverti optimum ratus, levem armaturam et equestres copias educit, totaque nocte itinere strenue facto improvisus hosti
22 supervenit. Cuius cognito adventu, Satibarzanes cum duobus milibus equitum—nec plures subito contrahi poterant—Bactra perfugit, ceteri proximos
23 montes occupaverunt. Praerupta rupes est, qua spectat occidentem, eadem, qua vergit ad orientem, leniore summissa fastigio; multis arboribus obsita perennem habet fontem, ex quo large aquae manant.
24 Circuitus eius XXX et duo stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus; in hoc multitudinem im-

[1] finitimis *I;* finibus *A.*
[2] satrapeae *Hedicke;* satrapem *P;* satrapham *C.*
[3] ad *added by Vindelinus; A omits.*

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[a] *ab eo*: this use of *is* instead of the reflexive is fairly common in Curtius.

rejoiced that jettison had been made of their packs, and not of their discipline.

18 Therefore they were making for the region of Bactra. But the carrying off of Nicanor, son of Parmenion, by a sudden death had been a cause of great
19 grief to all. The king, saddened more than the others, desired to halt in order to be present at his funeral, but scarcity of supplies caused him to hasten; therefore, leaving Philotas with 2600 men to perform the due rites for his brother, he hurried on to meet Bessus.

20 As he was on his way, letters were brought to him from the neighbouring satraps, from which he learned that Bessus was in fact coming to meet him with hostile intent with his army, but also that Satibarzanes, whom he himself had given charge of the
21 satrapy of the Arii, had revolted from him.[a] Therefore, although eager to meet Bessus, yet thinking it best to make it his first business [b] to crush Satibarzanes, he led out his light-armed troops and his cavalry forces, and marching swiftly all night, came
22 unexpectedly upon the enemy. On learning of his arrival [c] Satibarzanes with 2000 horsemen—for he had not been able in his haste to muster more—fled for refuge to Bactra, the rest took possession of the
23 neighbouring mountains. There is a rock, very steep on its western side, but towards the east sinking with a gentler slope; covered with many trees, it has a perennial fount, from which there is an abundant flow of water. Its circuit covers thirty-
24 two stadia. On its summit is a grass-covered plain;

[b] On *praeverti cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56 *praeverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit*; iv. 32.

[c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 25. 7.

bellem considere iubent. Ipsi qua rupes sedit[1] arborum truncos et saxa obmoliuntur. XIII milia
25 armata erant. In quorum obsidione Cratero relicto, ipse Satibarzanen sequi festinat. At,[2] quia longius abesse eum cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos qui edita
26 montium occupaverant[3] redit. Ac primo repurgari iter[4] iubet quidquid ingredi possent, deinde, ut occurrebant inviae cotes praeruptaeque rupes, irritus labor
27 videbatur obstante Natura. Ille, ut erat animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus, cum et progredi arduum et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes, aliud atque aliud—ita ut fieri solet ubi prima quaeque damnamus—subiciente animo.

Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit fortuna consilium
28 subministravit. Vehemens favonius erat, et multam materiam ceciderat miles, aditum per saxa molitus.
29 Haec vapore torrida flamma arserat[5]; ergo aggeri alias arbores iubet et igni dari[6] alimenta, celeriterque, stipitibus cumulatis, fastigium montis aequatum est.
30 Tunc undique ignis iniectus cuncta comprehendit. Flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat, fumus ingens velut quadam nube absconderat caelum.
31 Sonabant incendio silvae, atque ea quoque quae non incenderat miles, concepto igne, proxima quaeque adurebant. Barbari suppliciorum ultimum, si qua

[1] sedit *Hedicke;* erat *A.* [2] At *Hedicke;* et *A.*
[3] occupaverant *Vindelinus;* occupauerunt *A.*
[4] iter *added by Capps.*
[5] flamma arserat *Hedicke;* iam inauerat *A.*
[6] dari *Aldus;* dare *A.*

[a] For *iter repurgare cf.* Livy xliv. 4.

on this they ordered those who were not fit for war to take their places. They themselves piled tree-trunks and stones on the slope of the rock. They
25 numbered 13,000 armed men. Leaving Craterus to blockade these, he hastened in pursuit of Satibarzanes. But because he had learned that the barbarian was a long distance away, he returned to storm those who had taken possession of the mountain
26 heights. And first he ordered to be cleared whatever road they would be able to traverse[a]; then, when impassable crags and precipices presented themselves, the labour seemed hopeless against the op-
27 position of Nature. But Alexander, being always of a mind to wrestle with difficulties, since to advance was a hard task and to return dangerous, considered all kinds of expedients as his mind suggested one after another—as is usual when we reject every first thought.

As he was at a loss, chance offered a plan which cal-
28 culation could not suggest. There was a strong west wind, and the soldiers had cut a great amount of wood when trying to make an approach over the stones. This, dried by the heat, had caught fire;
29 therefore he ordered other trees to be piled on, and fuel to be given to the flames, and soon, as the trunks were heaped up, they equalled the height of
30 the mountain. Then fire was thrown upon it from every side and kindled the whole mass. The wind drove the flames into the faces of the enemy, a great
31 smoke had hidden the sky as if by a cloud. The woods roared from the conflagration, and those parts also to which the soldiers had not set fire, took fire themselves, and burned everything that was near them. The barbarians tried to escape the worst of

intermoreretur ignis, effugere temptabant, sed qua
32 flamma dederat locum hostis obstabat. Varia igitur caede consumpti sunt; alii in medios[1] ignis,[2] alii petris praecipitavere se, quidam hostium manibus obtulerunt, pauci semustulati venere in potestatem.
33 Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacana obsidebat, redit. Ille, omnibus praeparatis, regis exspectabat adven-
34 tum captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens. Igitur Alexander turres admoveri iubet; ipsoque aspectu barbari territi e muris supinas manus tendentes, orare coeperunt; iram in Satibarzanen, defectionis auctorem, reservaret, supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex data venia non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit.
35 Ab hac urbe digresso supplementum novorum militum occurrit; Zoilus[3] D equites ex Graecia adduxerat, III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat, Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant, ex Lydia II milia et sescenti, peregrinus miles, adve-
36 nerant, CCC equites gentis eiusdem sequebantur. Hac manu adiecta adit[4] Drangas; bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes,[5] sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso; is suppliciorum quae meruerat metu profugit in Indiam.

VII. Iam nonum diem stativa erant, cum externa vi non tutus modo rex, sed invictus, intestino facinore

[1] medios *I;* medio *A.* [2] ignis *C;* ignes *P.*
[3] Zoilus *J. Froben;* Zolus *A.*
[4] adit *added by Hedicke; A omits.*
[5] Barzaentes *Modius;* barzaenses *P m. pr.;* barzanenses *C.*

[a] Cannot be exactly located; apparently the principal city of the Arii; *cf.* Arr. iii. 25. 6, where Artacoana.
[b] *Cf.* iv. 4. 1 *soluta obsidione.*
[c] Arr. iii. 25. 3.

torments, if the fire died down anywhere, but where the flames gave a passage the enemy awaited them.
32 Hence they were destroyed by varied forms of death; some threw themselves into the midst of the flames, others down from the rocks, some offered themselves to the hands of the enemy, a few, half roasted, came into their power.
33 From there he returned to Craterus, who was besieging Artacana.[a] He, having prepared everything beforehand, was awaiting the coming of the king, leaving to him the honour of capturing the city,
34 as was right. Therefore Alexander ordered towers to be brought up; and at the mere sight the terrified barbarians on the walls, stretching out their hands, palms up, began to entreat him to reserve his anger for Satibarzanes, the ringleader of the revolt, and to spare the suppliants who surrendered themselves. The king pardoned them, and not only put an end to the siege,[b] but returned all their property to the inhabitants.
35 When he had left this city, a reserve[c] of new soldiers met him; Zoïlus had brought 500 soldiers from Greece, Antipater had sent 3000 from Illyricum, with Philip there were 130 Thessalian cavalry, from Lydia 2600 foreign troops had come, and 300 horse-
36 men of the same race followed. With the addition of these forces he entered the land of the Drangae, a warlike tribe. Their satrap was Barzaentes, an accomplice with Bessus in the crime against his king; he, fearing the punishment which he had deserved, fled to India.

VII. Already Alexander had been encamped for nine days in the same place, when, being not only safe from force from without, but unconquered, he

petebatur. Dymnus, modicae apud regem auctoritatis et gratiae, exoleti cui Nicomacho[1] erat nomen, amore flagrabat, obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinctus. Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspici poterat, similis attonito remotis arbitris cum iuvene secessit in templum, arcana se et silenda afferre praefatus, suspensumque expectatione per mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque animi rogat, ut affirmet iureiurando quae commisisset silentio esse tecturum. Et ille ratus nihil quod etiam cum periurio detegendum foret indicaturum, per praesentes deos iurat. Tum Dymnus aperit in tertium diem regi insidias comparatas seque eius consilii fortibus viris et illustribus esse participem. Quibus iuvenis auditis se vero fidem in parricidio dedisse constanter abnuit, nec ulla religione ut scelus tegat posse constringi. Dymnus, et amore et metu amens, dexteram exoleti complexus et lacrimans, orare primum ut particeps consilii operisque fieret; si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cuius erga ipsum benivolentiae praeter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertae.

Ad ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem mortis metu terret; ab illo capite coniuratos pulcherrimum

[1] Nicomacho *Aldus;* nichomacho *P;* nichomaco *C.*

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[a] For the abl. *cf.* Sall. *Cat.* ix. 1; Livy vi. 22. 4.

was attacked by a crime within his own household.
2 Dymnus, a man of slight weight and favour with the king, burned with love for a catamite named Nicomachus, bound by the compliance of a body devoted
3 to him alone. He, as if in great alarm, as could clearly be seen also from his expression, without witnesses withdrew with the youth into a temple, first saying that he had something secret and confidential to communicate, and when the youth was on tiptoe
4 of expectation, he besought him by their affection for each other, and by the pledges which they had both exchanged, to declare under oath that he would keep silent about what Dymnus should reveal to him.
5 Nicomachus, not supposing that he would tell anything which it would have been perjury for him to have revealed, took oath by the gods in whose temple
6 they were. Then Dymnus revealed that a plot against the king had been arranged for the third day thereafter, and that he shared in that design with
7 some brave and distinguished men. The youth, on hearing this, steadfastly denied that he had pledged his faith to take part in treason,[a] and said that he could not be bound by any religious obligation to
8 keep the crime secret. Dymnus, mad both with love and with fear, seizing the youth's hand and weeping, begged first that he would take part in the design
9 and its execution ; if he could not bring himself to do that, at least that he would not betray him, whose goodwill towards Nicomachus, besides all the rest, had this very evident proof, that he had trusted his life to his loyalty without previously testing it.
10 Finally, when the youth persisted in expressing abhorrence of the crime, Dymnus tried to terrify him by fear of death, saying that the conspirators would

11 facinus incohaturos. Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter timidum, alias proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingentia promittens, interdumque regnum quoque, versabat animum tanto facinore procul
12 abhorrentem. Strictum deinde gladium modo illius, modo suo admovens iugulo, supplex idem et infestus, expressit tandem[1] ut non solum silentium, sed etiam
13 operam polliceretur. Namque abunde constantis animi et dignus qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristina voluntate mutaverat, sed captum Dymni amore
14 simulabat nihil recusare. Sciscitari inde pergit, cum quibus tantae rei societatem inisset; plurimum referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi
15 manus essent. Ille et amore et scelere male sanus, simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur quod fortissimis[2] iuvenum non dubitasset se adiungere, Demetrio, corporis custodi, Peucolao,[3] Nicanori; adicit his Aphobetum, Iolaum,[4] Theoxenum,[5] Archepolim, Amyntam.

16 Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomachus ad fratrem—Cebalino erat nomen—quae acceperat defert. Placet ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne, si regiam intrasset non assuetus adire regem, coniurati proditos se
17 esse resciscerent. Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiae—neque enim propius aditus ei patebat—

[1] expressit tandem ut *C* (*V omits* tandem); expressit ut tandem *P*.
[2] fortissimis *P*; fortissimus *C*.
[3] Peucolao *Modius*; peuculao *A*.
[4] Iolaum *Vogel*; ioceum *A*.
[5] Theoxenum *Hedicke*; idoxenum *P m. pr.*; idioxenum *C* (adioxenum *V*).

11 begin their glorious deed by taking his life. Then calling him now effeminate and womanishly timid, and now the betrayer of his lover, now making vast promises, sometimes even royal power, he worked upon a mind to which such a deed was utterly abhor-
12 rent. Then applying a drawn sword, now to Nicomachus' throat and now to his own, at the same time a suppliant and an enemy, Dymnus at last forced him to promise, not only silence, but even support.
13 Yet the lad, being of a most steadfast spirit—indeed he should have been chaste—had made no change in his former resolution, but pretended that, overcome with
14 love for Dymnus, he could refuse him nothing. Then he went on to inquire with whom he had entered upon an association of so great importance; it made a great deal of difference, he said, what sort of men were going to put their hands to so memorable an
15 enterprise. Dymnus, almost crazed by love and guilt, at the same time thanked him, and also congratulated him that he had not hesitated to join with the bravest of men, Demetrius, one of the body-guard,[a] Peucolaüs, Nicanor; to these he added Aphobetus, Iolaüs, Theoxenus, Archepolis, Amyntas.
16 On being dismissed from this conference, Nicomachus reported to his brother—his name was Cebalinus—what he had heard. They agreed that Nicomachus should stay in his brother's tent, for fear that, if he, who was not accustomed to approach the king, should enter the royal apartment, the conspirators might learn that they had been betrayed.
17 Cebalinus himself stood before the vestibule of the tent—for nearer access was not allowed him—waiting

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 27. 5, which indicates that Demetrius was one of the seven of the highest rank among the body-guard.

consistit, opperiens aliquem ex prima cohorte amico-
18 rum, a quo[1] introduceretur ad regem. Forte, ceteris dimissis, unus Philotas, Parmenionis filius—incertum quam ob causam—substiterat[2] in regia ; huic Cebalinus ore confuso magnae perturbationis notas prae se ferens aperit quae ex fratre compererat, et sine
19 dilatione nuntiari regi iubet. Philotas, collaudato eo, protinus intrat ad Alexandrum, multoque invicem de aliis rebus sermone consumpto, nihil eorum quae
20 ex Cebalino cognoverat nuntiat. Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiae excipit iuvenis, an mandatum exsecutus foret requirens. Ille, non
21 vacasse sermoni suo regem causatus, discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam praesto est, intrantemque admonet pridie communicatae cum ipso rei. Ille curae sibi esse respondet ; ac ne tum
22 quidem regi quae audierat aperit. Coeperat Cebalino esse suspectus ; itaque non ultra interpellandum ratus, nobili iuveni—Metron erat ei nomen—super armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur indicat.
23 Ille, Cebalino in armamentario abscondito, protinus regi, corpus forte curanti, quid index detulisset osten-
24 dit. Rex ad comprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus, armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus : " Habeo te," inquit, " incolumem ex
25 impiorum manibus ereptum." Percontatus deinde

[1] a quo *J. Froben;* quo *C* (*P m. pr. omits*).
[2] substiterat *Lauer;* subsisterat *P;* subsisteret *C.*

[a] See vi. 2. 11, note *b*.

for someone of the first rank [a] of the king's friends,
18 to admit him to Alexander's presence. It happened that when the rest had been dismissed, Philotas, son of Parmenion, alone—it is not known for what reason —had remained in the royal apartment; to him Cebalinus, in confused words and showing signs of great perturbation, disclosed what he had learned from his brother, and asked that it be reported to the
19 king without delay. Philotas, after strongly commending him, at once went in to Alexander, and having talked with him for some time about other matters, reported nothing of what he had learned
20 from Cebalinus. Towards evening the young man met Philotas in the vestibule of the royal apartment, as he was coming out, and asked him whether he had done what he requested. Philotas alleged that the king had had no time to talk with him,
21 and went away. On the following day Cebalinus was on hand when Philotas came to the royal apartment, and reminded him, as he entered, of the matter which he had communicated to him the day before. Philotas replied that he was attending to it, but did not even then disclose to the king what he
22 had heard. Cebalinus began to suspect him, and so, thinking that there ought to be no further obstruction, he told a young nobleman—his name was Metron—who had charge of the armoury, of the
23 crime which was being planned. He, after having concealed Cebalinus in the armoury, at once revealed to the king, who chanced to be taking a bath, what
24 the informer had reported. The king sent his attendants to arrest Dymnus, and entered the armoury. There Cebalinus, transported with joy, said: "I have you safe, snatched from the hands of impious

Alexander quae noscenda erant, ordine cuncta cognoscit. Rursusque institit quaerere, quotus dies esset ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium.
26 Atque illo fatente iam tertium esse, existimans haud incorrupta fide tanto post deferre quae audierat vin-
27 ciri eum iussit. At[1] ille clamitare coepit eodem temporis momento quo audisset, ad Philotan decucurrisse[2]; ab eo operiri comperta.[3]
28 Rex identidem[4] quaerens an Philotan adisset, an institisset ei ut pervenirent ad se, perseverante eo affirmare quae dixerat, manus ad caelum tendens, manantibus lacrimis hanc sibi a carissimo quondam
29 amicorum relatam gratiam querebatur. Inter haec Dymnus haud ignarus quam ob causam accerseretur a rege, gladio quo forte erat cinctus graviter se vulnerat occursuque satellitum inhibitus, perfertur in
30 regiam. Quem intuens rex: "Quod," inquit, "in te, Dymne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?" Illum iam defecerat vox; itaque edito gemitu vultuque a conspectu regis averso subinde collapsus exstinguitur.
31 Rex, Philota venire in regiam iusso: "Cebalinus," inquit, "ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum praeparatas insidias biduo texit[5]; sed huius

[1] iussit. At *Hedicke;* iussit *P;* iusserat *C.*
[2] decucurrisse *Kinch;* de**currisse *P;* decurrisse *C.*
[3] operiri comperta *Jeep;* perconperta *P;* percomperta *C.*
[4] identidem *Freinshem;* item *C* (*V omits*); idem *P m. pr.*
[5] texit; sed *Hedicke;* texisset, texit, texi, tex, *etc. MSS.*

25 men." Then Alexander, after inquiring about all the particulars, learned the whole matter in detail. And again the king went on to inquire how long it was since Nicomachus had given him the informa-
26 tion. And when Cebalinus admitted that it was two days before, Alexander, thinking him of doubtful loyalty in reporting so long afterwards what he had
27 heard, ordered that he be put in fetters. But Cebalinus began to cry out that at the very moment that he had heard of it he had run to Philotas; that it was by him that what he had learned was concealed.
28 When the king asked again and again whether he had gone to Philotas, and whether he had urged him that they should go to Alexander, and Cebalinus persisted in affirming what he had said, the king, raising his hands to heaven, with flowing tears began to lament that such requital had been made him by one who had formerly been the dearest of his friends.
29 In the meantime Dymnus, well aware why he was summoned by the king, gave himself a severe wound with a sword which he chanced to be wearing, and being stopped by the guards who ran up, was
30 brought into the royal apartment. The king, looking him in the eye, said: "What great wrong have I planned against you, Dymnus, that you should think Philotas more worthy to rule the Macedonians, than I am myself?" But speech had already failed Dymnus; and so, uttering a groan and averting his face from the king's gaze, he forthwith swooned and died.
31 The king, having ordered Philotas to come to the royal tent, said: "Cebalinus deserved the extreme penalty, if he concealed for two days a plot aimed at my life; but he has substituted Philotas as

criminis Philotan reum substituit, ad quem protinus
32 indicium detulisse se affirmat. Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc maius est dissimulationis tuae facinus, et ego Cebalino magis quam Philotae id convenire fateor. Faventem habes iudicem, si quod admitti non oportuit[1] saltem purgari[2] potest."
33 Ad haec Philotas haud sane trepidus, si animus vultu aestimaretur, Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se detulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctore nihil credidisse respondit, veritum ne iurgium inter amatorem et exoletum non sine risu aliorum detulis-
34 set; cum Dymnus semet interemerit, qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda. Complexusque regem orare coepit ut praeteritam vitam potius quam culpam, silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur.
35 Haud facile dixerim credideritne ei rex an altius iram suppresserit; dexteram reconciliatae gratiae pignus obtulit et contemptum magis quam celatum indicium esse videri sibi dixit.

VIII. Advocato tum[3] consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci
2 iubet. Is eadem quae detulerat frater[4] ad regem ordine exposuit. Erat Craterus regi carus in paucis, et eo Philotae ob aemulationem dignitatis adversus,
3 neque ignorabat saepe Alexandri auribus nimia iacta-

[1] oportuit *J. Froben;* potuit *A.*
[2] purgari *Jeep;* negari *A.*
[3] tum *Zumpt;* tamen *A.* [4] frater *added by Vogel.*

the one guilty of that offence, since he declares that he immediately reported the information to him.
32 The closer the degree of friendship which you have with me, the greater is the crime of your secrecy, but I at any rate admit that such action becomes Cebalinus rather than Philotas. You have a favourable judge, if what ought not to have been done can at least be excused."
33 To these words Philotas, in no wise disturbed, if his feelings were judged from his expression, replied that Cebalinus had, it was true, reported to him the talk of a wanton, but that he himself put no trust in an authority of so little weight, fearing besides lest he should be laughed at by the rest if he reported
34 a quarrel between a lover and his favourite; but since Dymnus had made away with himself, it ought not to have been passed over in silence, whatever its nature was. Then, throwing his arms about the king, he began to entreat him to have regard to his past life rather than to a fault which, after all, was only
35 one of silence, and not of any action. I could not readily say whether the king believed him, or suppressed his anger deep in his heart; he offered him his right hand as a pledge of renewed favour, saying that it appeared to him that the information was scorned rather than concealed.

VIII. Then, having called a council of his friends, to which however Philotas was not invited, he ordered
2 Nicomachus to be brought before it. The youth set forth in order the same information that his brother had given to the king. Craterus was dearer to Alexander than most of his friends, and for that reason less friendly to Philotas, as his rival in import-
3 ance, he was well aware too that Philotas had often

tione[1] virtutis atque operae gravem fuisse et ob ea
non quidem sceleris, sed contumaciae tamen esse
4 suspectum. Non aliam premendi inimici occasionem
aptiorem futuram ratus, odio suo pietatis praeferens
speciem : " Utinam," inquit, " in principio quoque
5 huius rei nobiscum deliberasses ! Suasissemus, si
Philotae velles ignoscere, patereris potius ignorare
eum quantum deberet tibi, quam usque ad mortis
metum adductum saepius de periculo suo quam de
tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari
tibi poterit, tu non semper Philotae poteris ignoscere.
6 Nec est quod existimes eum, qui tantum ausus est,
venia posse mutari. Scit eos qui misericordiam con-
7 sumpserunt amplius sperare non posse. At ego,
etiam si ipse vel paenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus
quiescere volet, patrem eius Parmenionem, tanti
ducem exercitus et inveterata apud milites suos
auctoritate haud multum infra magnitudinis tuae
fastigium positum, scio non aequo animo salutem
8 filii sui debiturum tibi. Quaedam beneficia odimus.
Meruisse mortem confiteri pudet ; superest, ut malit
videri iniuriam accepisse quam vitam. Proinde scito[2]
9 tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. Satis hos-
tium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus ;
latus a domesticis hostibus muni. Hos si summoves,
nihil metuo ab externo."
10 Haec Craterus. Nec ceteri dubitabant quin

[1] iactatione *J. Froben;* actione *A.*
[2] scito *Modius;* scio *A.*

wearied the ears of Alexander by excessive vaunting of his valour and his services, and hence was sus-
4 pected, not indeed of crime, but of arrogance. Thinking that there would be no more advantageous opportunity of ruining his enemy, disguising his hatred under a pretence of loyalty, he said: "I only wish that at the very beginning of this matter you
5 had deliberated with us! We should have persuaded you, if you wished to pardon Philotas, to suffer him to be ignorant how much he was indebted to you, rather than, after he had been brought even to the very fear of death, to think more often of his own danger than of your kindness. For he will always be able to plot against you, you will not always be able to pardon
6 Philotas. There is no reason for you to think that one who has dared so much can be changed by a pardon. He knows that those who have exhausted
7 mercy can no longer hope for it. But even if he himself, either through change of heart or overcome by your kindness, shall wish to remain quiet, I at any rate know that his father Parmenion, the leader of so great an army, and because of his long-continued influence with his soldiers holding a position not much below the height of your greatness, will not with equanimity
8 owe his son's life to you. There are some favours which we hate. One is ashamed to admit that one has deserved death; therefore, Philotas would prefer to seem to have suffered an injury rather than to have been granted his life. Therefore be sure that you
9 will have to fight with those men for your life. There are enemies enough left, in pursuit of whom we are about to go; guard yourself against domestic foes. If you get rid of these, I fear nothing from without."
10 Thus spoke Craterus. And the rest did not doubt

coniurationis indicium suppressurus non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps. Quem enim pium et bonae mentis, non amicum modo, sed ex ultima plebe, auditis quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem
11 fuisse cursurum? ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, qui ex fratre comperta ipsi nuntiasset, commotum esse[1] Parmenionis filium, praefectum equitatus, omnium arcanorum regis arbitrum! Simulasse etiam, non vacasse sermoni suo regem, ne index alium internun-
12 tium quaereret. Nicomachum, religione quoque deum astrictum, conscientiam suam exonerare properasse; Philotam consumpto per ludum iocumque paene toto die, gravatum esse pauca verba pertinentia ad caput regis tam longo et forsitan supervacuo
13 inserere sermoni. At eum non credidisse[2] talia deferentibus pueris! Cur igitur extraxisset biduum, tamquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum
14 fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem eius damnabat. In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere; cum de salute regis timeretur, credulos esse debere, vana quoque deferentis admittere.
15 Omnes igitur quaestionem de eo, ut participes sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex admonitos uti consilium silentio premerent dimittit. Pronuntiari deinde iter in posterum iubet,

[1] commotum esse *added by Hedicke; A omits.*
[2] eum non credidisse *Hedicke;* enim si non credidisset *C;* enim non credidisse *P m. pr.*

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[a] *Cf.* vi. 9. 21; Arr. iii. 11. 8; vi. 6. 1.
[b] With *conscientiam exonerare cf.* v. 13. 22, vi. 9. 9.

that Philotas would not have suppressed the evidence of the conspiracy, unless he had been its ringleader or a participant in it. For who, if a loyal man, and of good intention, not to say a friend, but even one of the lowest condition, on hearing what had been revealed to Philotas, would not at once have hastened
11 to the king? To think that the son of Parmenion, as commander of the cavalry [a] a confidant of all the king's secrets, was not moved even by the example of Cebalinus, who had announced to him what he had learned from his brother! That he also pretended that the king had no time to talk with him, for fear that the informer might seek another intermediary!
12 Nicomachus, even though bound by an oath to the gods, had hastened to unburden his conscience [b]; Philotas, after spending the whole day in amusement and merriment, had found it difficult to find room, in so long and perhaps superfluous a talk, for a few words
13 relating to the life of his king! But, he says, he did not believe mere boys who brought such information. Why then did he prolong the time for two days, as if he had faith in their testimony? Cebalinus ought to have been dismissed, if Philotas rejected his in-
14 formation. In the time of his own danger everyone ought to have great courage; when fears were felt for the safety of their king, they ought to be credulous and to listen even to those who bring false information.

15 All therefore decided that Philotas should be put to the torture, in order that he might be forced to name the participants in the crime. The king dismissed them, after admonishing them to keep silent about his plans. Then he ordered a march to be announced for the following day, lest any indication

16 ne qua noxiis[1] initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas, et rex non cenare modo, sed etiam familiariter colloqui cum eo
17 quem damnaverat sustinuit. Secunda deinde vigilia, luminibus extinctis, cum paucis in regiam coeunt Hephaestio et Craterus et Coenus et Erigyius, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem Perdiccas et Leonnatus. Per hos imperatum ut qui ad[2] praetorium excubabant
18 armati vigilarent. Iam ad omnes aditus dispositi erant equites, itinera quoque obsidere iussi, ne quis ad Parmenionem, qui tum Mediae magnisque copiis
19 praeerat, occultus evaderet. Atarrhias[3] autem cum ccc armatis intraverat regiam ; huic decem satellites adduntur,[4] quorum singulos deni armigeri sequeban-
20 tur. Hi ad alios coniuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt, Atarrhias cum trecentis ad Philotam missus, clausum aditum domus moliebatur, [L] iuvenum promptissimis stipatus ; nam ceteros cingere undique domum iusserat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi.
21 Illum sive securitate animi sive fatigatione resolutum somnus oppresserat ; quem Atarrhias torpentem
22 adhuc occupat. Tandem ei sopore discusso cum inicerentur catenae : " Vicit," inquit, " bonitatem tuam, rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas." Nec plura elocutum capite velato in regiam adducunt.

[1] noxiis *Jeep;* noni *A.* [2] ad *added by I.*
[3] Atarrhias *Hedicke;* atarras *A.*
[4] adduntur *Hedicke;* traduntur *A.*

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[a] There is confusion between *armigeri* and *satellites* ; the latter is used of the body-guard in iii. 12. 10, both together in iv. 7. 21.

[b] *Moliebatur* both in verb and tense implies effort ; *cf.* iv. 7. 7 ; viii. 10. 30.

of the decisions entered on should be given to
16 the guilty parties. Philotas was even invited to a banquet, which was his last, and the king had the heart, not only to dine with him, but even to talk familiarly with the man whom he had condemned.
17 Then in the second watch, when the lights had been put out, there came to the king's tent, with a few others, Hephaestion, Craterus, Coenus, and Erigyius, these from the number of his friends, and from the body-guard Perdiccas and Leonnatus. By these it was ordered that those who were on guard at the king's
18 tent should remain on watch and under arms. Already cavalry had been stationed at all the entrances, and they had been ordered also to beset the roads, in order that no one might secretly go out to Parmenion, who was then governing Media and was in command
19 of great forces. Atarrhias, moreover, with 300 armed men had entered the royal tent; to him were given besides ten attendants,[a] each followed by ten men-
20 at-arms. These were sent in different directions to arrest the other conspirators. Atarrhias was sent with 300 men to Philotas and set about breaking open[b] the closed entrance to his house, attended by fifty of the bravest of his soldiers; for he had ordered the rest to surround the house on all sides, for fear that Philotas might be able to slip out by a secret
21 door. But he, either through absence of anxiety or worn out by fatigue, had been overcome by sleep: Atarrhias seized him while he was still drowsy.
22 When at last he was fully awake and chains were put upon him, he said: "O Sire, the bitterness of my enemies has prevailed over your kindness." And without further words on his part they led him with veiled head into the king's quarters.

23 Postero die rex edixit omnes armati coirent. VI milia fere militum venerant, praeterea turba lixarum
24 calonumque impleverant regiam. Philotan armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne ante conspici posset a vulgo
25 quam rex allocutus milites esset. De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat rex, iudicabat[1] exercitus—in pace erat vulgi—, et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.
26 Igitur Dymni primum cadaver infertur, plerisque quid parasset quove casu extinctus esset ignaris. IX. Rex deinde in contionem procedit vultu praeferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque maestitia
2 expectationem haud parvam rei[2] fecerat. Diu rex demisso in terram vultu, attonito stupentique similis stetit. Tandem recepto animo :

" Paene," inquit, " milites, hominum scelere vobis ereptus sum ; deum providentia et misericordia vivo. Conspectusque vestri venerabilis coegit,[3] ut vehementius parricidis irascerer, quoniam is primus,[4] immo unus vitae meae fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optime meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse."
3 Interrupit orationem militum gemitus, obortaeque sunt omnibus lacrimae. Tum rex :

" Quanto," inquit, " maiorem in animis vestris motum excitabo, cum tanti sceleris auctores osten-

[1] rex, iudicabat *added by Hedicke; A omits.*
[2] rei *I;* ei *A.*
[3] coegit *J. Froben;* cogit *FBL;* coget *V* (*P omits*).
[4] is primus *G. Hermann;* spiritus *A.*

23 On the following day the king made proclamation that all should assemble under arms. About 6000 soldiers had come, besides these a crowd of camp-servants and batmen had filled the royal quarters.
24 The men-at-arms covered Philotas with their troop, in order that he might not be seen by the general
25 throng until the king had addressed the soldiers. In accordance with the ancient custom of the Macedonians, the king conducted the inquiry into criminal cases, and the army passed judgement—in time of peace it was a duty of the common people—and the power of the king availed nothing, unless his influence
26 had earlier had weight with them. Accordingly, the corpse of Dymnus was first brought in, the greater number being ignorant what he had attempted or by what chance he had been killed. IX. After this the king entered the assembly, manifesting his sorrow by his expression. The sadness of his friends also caused
2 no slight expectation of what was to take place. For a long time the king stood with his eyes fixed upon the ground, like one amazed and at a loss. At last, having recovered his spirits, he said :

" Almost, my soldiers, have I been wrested from you by the wickedness of certain men ; for it is by the providence and mercy of the gods that I still live. And the sight of your revered assembly has forced me to be more violently angry with the traitors, since the first, nay, the sole enjoyment of my life is to be able still to requite so many valiant men who have the
3 highest claim upon my gratitude." His speech was interrupted by the soldiers' lamentations, and tears sprang to the eyes of all. Then the king continued :

" How much greater emotion shall I rouse in your minds, when I reveal the authors of so great a crime !

dero! Quorum mentionem adhuc reformido et,
4 tamquam salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo. Sed vincenda est memoria pristinae caritatis et coniuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodo autem tantum nefas sileam? Parmenio, illa aetate, tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devinctus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus, ducem se sceleri tanto prae-
5 buit. Minister eius Philotas Peucolaum[1] et Demetrium et hunc Dymnum, cuius corpus aspicitis, ceterosque eiusdem amentiae in caput meum subor-
6 navit." Fremitus undique indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis et maxime militaris, ubi aut studio
7 agitur aut ira. Nicomachus deinde et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quae quisque detulerat exponunt. Nullius eorum indicio Philotas ut[2] particeps sceleris destinabatur. Itaque, indignatione expressa, vox invicem[3] silentio excepta est.
8 Tum rex: "Qualis," inquit, "ergo animi vobis videtur, qui huius rei delatum indicium ad ipsum[4] suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum Dymni exitus
9 declarat. Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus, nec Metron[5] ne momentum quidem temporis distulit exonerare se, ut eo ubi lavabar
10 inrumperet; Philotas solus nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! Iste regis periculo commo-

[1] Peucolaum *J. Froben;* leucolaum *A.*
[2] ut *Bentley;* in *A.* [3] invicem *Jeep;* indicium *A.*
[4] ad ipsum *Freinshem;* id ipsum *A.*
[5] nec Metron *added by Hedicke.*

[a] *Cf.* the same expression above, vi. 8. 12.

From the mention of these I still shrink, and I refrain from calling their names, as if they could be saved.
4 But I must overcome the memory of my former affection, and the conspiracy of impious citizens must be brought to light. For how can I be silent about such an abomination? Parmenion, old as he is, bound by so many favours of mine, so many of my father's, the eldest of all our friends, offered himself as the leader
5 in so great a crime. His tool, Philotas, has suborned against my life Peucolaüs, and Demetrius, and this Dymnus, whose body you see before you, and the
6 others infected by the same madness." On all sides cries of indignation and lament broke out in the whole assembly, such as are wont to be uttered by a multitude, and especially one of soldiers, when they
7 are moved by devotion or by anger. Then Nicomachus and Metron and Cebalinus were brought forward, and set forth what each of them had reported. By the testimony of none of these was Philotas designated as a participant in the crime. Therefore after the expression of indignation the rest of the speech was heard in silence.

8 The king continued: "What, then, seems to you to be the spirit of a man who suppressed the information which was brought to him about this matter—information which the death of Dymnus shows not
9 to have been unfounded? Cebalinus, when reporting an uncertain matter did not fear torture, and Metron was so far from putting off even for a single moment the freeing [a] of his mind, that he even forced his way
10 into the place where I was bathing. Philotas alone had no fear, believed nothing. O the great courage of the man! Would such a man be moved by the danger to his king, would he change countenance,

veretur, vultum mutaret, indicem tantae rei sollicitus
11 audiret! Subest nimirum silentio facinus, et avida
spes regni praecipitem animum ad ultimum nefas
impulit. Pater Mediae praeest; ipse apud multos
copiarum duces meis praepotens viribus, maiora quam
12 capit spirat. Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine liberis
sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos,
parentes, consanguineos habeo; vobis salvis orbus
13 esse non possum." Epistulam deinde Parmenionis
interceptam, quam ad filios Nicanorem et Philotan
scripserat, recitat, haud sane indicium gravioris con-
14 silii praeferentem. Namque summa eius haec erat:
" Primum vestri curam agite, deinde vestrorum; sic
15 enim quae destinavimus efficiemus." Adiecitque rex
sic esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset, a
consciis posset intellegi, sive intercepta esset, falleret
ignaros.
16 " At enim Dymnus, cum ceteros participes sceleris
indicaret, Philotan non nominavit! Hoc quidem
illius non innocentiae, sed potentiae indicium est,
quod sic ab eis timetur etiam a quibus prodi potest,
ut, cum de se fateantur, illum tamen celent. Cete-
17 rum Philotan ipsius indicat vita. Hic Amyntae, qui
mihi consobrinus fuit et in Macedonia capiti meo
impias comparavit insidias, socium se et conscium
18 adiunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum non

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[a] On *summa* *cf.* vi. 4. 8, note.

[b] *Cf.* vi. 10. 24; he was the son of Perdiccas, brother of Philip.

would he listen anxiously to the informer of so great
11 a matter? No doubt this silence conceals a purpose, and the eager hope for royal power drove his mind headlong to the worst of abominations. His father governs Media; he himself, because of the great power which through my influence he has with many leaders of our forces, aspires to greater things than
12 are within his capabilities. He scorns even my bereavement, in that I have no children. But Philotas is mistaken. In you I have children, relatives, kinsmen; while you live, I cannot be without off-
13 spring." Then he read an intercepted letter which Parmenion had written to his sons Nicanor and Philotas, which did not, it is true, furnish evidence of
14 any serious design. For this was its substance[a]: "First, look out for yourselves, then for yours; for thus we shall accomplish what we have planned."
15 And the king added that the letter was written in such terms, in order that, if it should reach his sons, it could be understood by their accomplices, or if it should have been intercepted, it would deceive those who knew nothing of the plot. Then the king continued:

16 "But, it may be said, Dymnus, when he revealed the other participants in the crime, did not name Philotas. This, in fact, is a sign, not of his innocence, but of his authority, because he was so feared even by those by whom he could be betrayed, that when they confessed their own guilt, they nevertheless did not name him. Furthermore, his own life shows the
17 character of Philotas. He it was who, when Amyntas, my own cousin,[b] in Macedonia made an impious plot against my life, joined with him as an ally and an
18 accomplice. He gave his sister in marriage to

habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. Hic, cum scripsissem ei pro iure tam familiaris usus atque amicitiae qualis sors edita esset Iovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit rescribere mihi se quidem gratulari, quod in numerum deorum receptus essem, ceterum misereri eorum quibus vivendum esset sub eo qui
19 modum hominis excederet. Haec sunt et iam[1] pridem animi alienati a me et invidentis gloriae meae indicia. Quae equidem, milites, quamdiu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere, si in quos tam magna contuleram viliores
20 mihi facerem. Sed iam non verba punienda sunt; linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. Hos, si mihi creditis, Philotas in me acuit, si ipsi, admisit.

"Quo me conferam, milites? cui caput meum
21 credam? Equitatui, optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae iuventutis, eum[2] praefeci, salutem, spem, victoriam meam fidei eius tutelaeque commisi.
22 Patrem in idem fastigium in quo me ipsi posuistis admovi; Mediam, qua nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque milia imperio eius dicionique subieci. Unde praesidium petieram, periculum ex-
23 stitit. Quam feliciter in acie occidissem, potius hostis praeda quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis quae sola timui, in haec incidi quae timere non

[1] et iam *Bentley;* etiam *A.* [2] eum *Hedicke;* unum *A.*

[a] See Plut. *Alex.* ix. 4; Diod. xvii. 2. 3.
[b] *Cf.* vi. 1. 17 for *modus* in this sense.
[c] See on vi. 6. 7 and *cf.* Arr. iii. 27. 4.

Attalus,[a] than whom I had no more dangerous enemy. He, when I had written to him, by right of so close a familiarity and friendship, the nature of the reply which had been given by the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, had the impudence to reply that he for his part congratulated me that I had been received into the number of the gods, but that he pitied those who would have to live under one who rose above the
19 limitations[b] of a man. These are tokens of a mind which is both long since alienated from me and is also envious of my glory. These things, soldiers, so long as it was possible, I buried in my own thoughts. For it seemed to me that I was tearing away a part of my own flesh, if I should make those upon whom I had conferred such great favours more worthless in my
20 sight. But it is no longer mere words that must be punished; rashness of language has passed on to swords. These, if you believe me, Philotas has whetted against me, if you believe him, he has allowed it.

"Whither shall I turn, soldiers? to whom shall I
21 trust my life? I have put him in command of the cavalry,[c] the best part of my army, the elite of our noblest young men, I have entrusted to his loyalty
22 and protection my life, my hope, my victory. His father I have raised to the same high rank as that in which you have placed me. I have put under his command and sway Media, than which no region is richer, and so many thousands of citizens and allies. Where I had looked for protection danger has
23 arisen. How happily would I have fallen in battle, the prey of an enemy rather than the victim of a fellow-citizen! Now, saved from the only dangers which I feared, I have met with those which I ought not

24 debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere ut saluti meae parcam. Ipsi mihi praestare potestis, quod suadetis ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio ; invitis vobis salvus esse nolo, volentibus non possum, nisi vindicor."

25 Tum Philotan, religatis post tergum manibus, obsoleto amiculo velatum iussit induci. Facile apparebat, motos esse tam miserabili habitu non sine invidia
26 paulo ante conspecti. Ducem equitatus pridie viderant, sciebant regis interfuisse convivio ; repente reum quidem, sed iam[1] damnatum, immo vinctum
27 intuebantur. Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui modo duobus filiis, Hectore ac Nicanore, orbatus, cum eo quem reliquum calamitas fecerat absens diceret causam.
28 Itaque Amyntas, regius praetor, inclinatam ad misericordiam contionem rursus aspera in Philotan oratione commovit : proditos eos esse barbaris ; neminem ad coniugem suam in patriam et ad parentes suos esse[2] rediturum, velut truncum corpus dempto capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludi-
29 brium hostis futuros. Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius Amyntae oratio grata regi fuit, quod coniugum, quod patriae admonitos pigriores ad cetera munia exsequenda fecisset.

30 Tum Coenus, quamquam Philotae sororem matri-

[1] iam *Jeep;* etiam *A.* [2] suos esse *Hedicke;* fuisse *A.*

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[a] Hence not *sine praeiudicio* ; *cf.* vii. 1. 20.
[b] See vii. 2. 33 ; vi. 8. 7. [c] See iv. 8. 7, vi. 6. 18.

24 to have feared. You are wont, soldiers, ever and anon to ask me to be careful of my life. You yourselves can furnish me with the means of doing what you advise. To your hands, to your weapons I flee for refuge ; I do not wish to be safe, if you do not wish it, if you do wish it, I cannot be unless I am avenged."
25 Then he ordered Philotas to be brought in with his hands bound behind his back and his head veiled in a faded cloak. It was readily apparent that men were touched by the wretched plight of one who shortly before had been looked upon with envy.
26 The day before they had seen him the commander of the cavalry, they knew that he had been present at a banquet with the king; suddenly they beheld him on trial, it is true, but already condemned, nay,
27 even in bonds.[a] There entered their minds also the ill-fortune of Parmenion, so great a general,[b] so distinguished a citizen, who, recently bereft of two sons, Hector and Nicanor,[c] would, though absent, make his plea along with the only son whom
28 calamity had left him. Accordingly Amyntas, one of the king's generals, again aroused the assembly, which was inclined towards pity, by a harsh speech against Philotas, saying that they had been betrayed to the barbarians, that no one would return to his wife, to his native land, to his parents, but that like a body bereft of its head, without life, without name, in a foreign land they would be the sport of their
29 enemies. The speech of Amyntas was by no means so pleasing to the king as the author of it had hoped, since by having reminded them of their wives and of their native land he had made them less alert for performing the tasks which remained.
30 Then Coenus, although he had joined Philotas'

monio secum coniunxerat, tamen acrius quam quisquam in Philotan invectus est, parricidam esse regis,
31 patriae, exercitus clamitans, saxumque, quod forte ante pedes iacebat, corripuit[1] emissurus in eum, ut plerique crediderunt, tormentis subtrahere cupiens. Sed rex manum eius inhibuit dicendae prius causae debere fieri potestatem reo nec aliter iudicari pas-
32 surum se affirmans. Tum dicere iussus[2] Philotas, sive conscientia sceleris sive periculi magnitudine amens et attonitus, non attollere oculos, non hiscere
33 audebat. Lacrimis deinde manantibus, linquente animo in eum a quo tenebatur incubuit; abstersisque amiculo eius oculis, paulatim recipiens spiritum ac
34 vocem, dicturus videbatur. Iamque rex intuens eum: "Macedones," inquit, "de te iudicaturi sunt; quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usurus."
35 Tum Philotas: "Praeter Macedonas," inquit, "plerique adsunt, quos facilius quae dicam percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intel-
36 legi posset a pluribus." Tum rex: "Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aeque illum a

[1] corripuit *I;* eripuit *A.*
[2] iussus *Modius;* rursus *P;* orsus *C.*

[a] For *attollere oculos* and *hiscere* together *cf.* Livy vi. 16. 3; for *hiscere* Livy xxxix. 12. 5, Amm. xxiii. 6. 80.
[b] Even in the time of Alexander Macedonian was not understood by the Greeks, if Curtius is to be trusted.

sister to himself in marriage, inveighed against him more savagely than anyone else, shouting that he
31 was a traitor to king, to country, to the army, and catching up a stone which chanced to be lying at his feet, he was on the point of hurling it at him, as many thought because he desired to save him from torture. But the king stayed his hand, declaring that the accused ought to be given the opportunity of first pleading his cause, and that otherwise he would not
32 allow him to be judged. Then Philotas, when ordered to speak, either through consciousness of guilt or beside himself and thunderstruck by the greatness of his peril, did not venture to lift his eyes
33 or to open his mouth.[a] Then, with a flood of tears, he swooned and fell into the arms of the man who was holding him ; and when his eyes had been dried with the cloak which he was wearing, he gradually recovered his breath and his voice and seemed about to
34 speak. And now the king, looking intently at him, said : "The Macedonians are about to pass judgement upon you ; I wish to know whether you will use their native tongue[b] in addressing them." There-
35 upon Philotas replied : "Besides the Macedonians there are many present who, I think, will more easily understand what I shall say if I use the same language which you have employed,[c] for no other reason, I suppose, than in order that your speech might be
36 understood by the greater number." Then said the king : "Do you not see how Philotas loathes even the language of his fatherland ? For he alone disdains to learn it. But let him by all means speak in whatever way he desires, provided that you remember that he holds our customs in as much abhorrence as

[c] The Greek κοινή.

nostro more quam sermone abhorrere." Atque ita contione excessit.

X. Tum Philotas: "Verba," inquit, "innocenti reperire facile est, modum verborum misero tenere
2 difficile. Itaque, inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam destitutus, ignoro quomodo
3 et animo meo et tempori paream. Abest quidem optimus causae meae iudex; qui cur me ipse audire noluerit non, mehercule, excogito, cum illi, utrimque cognita causa, tam damnare me liceat quam absolvere, non cognita vero, liberari absenti[1] non possum
4 qui a praesente damnatus sum. Sed quamquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum sed etiam invisa defensio est, qui iudicem non docere videtur, sed arguere, tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet ipse non deseram nec committam, ut damnatus etiam
5 mea sententia videar. Equidem, cuius criminis reus sim non video; inter coniuratos nemo me nominat, de me Nicomachus nihil dixit, Cebalinus plus quam
6 audierat scire non potuit. Atqui coniurationis caput me fuisse[2] credit rex! Potuit ergo Dymnus eum praeterire quem sequebatur, praesertim cum quaerenti socios vel falso fuerim nominandus, quo facilius
7 qui temptabatur posset impelli? Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum praeteriit, ut possit videri socio pepercisse; Nicomacho,[3] quem taciturum ar-

[1] absenti *Hedicke;* absente *A.* [2] fuisse *I;* fecisse *A.*
[3] Nicomacho *Acidalius;* nicomachus *P;* nichomachus *C.*

[a] This, like other things in Curtius, is unfair to Philotas.
[b] *Ex-* is intensive; *cf. exputo* in Cic. *Ad Fam.* x. 24. 6.
[c] See vi. 7. 14-15.

our language."[a] And with these words he left the assembly.

X. Then Philotas said: "It is easy for an innocent man to find words, it is difficult for a wretched man to
2 keep his words within bounds. Therefore, abandoned between the best of consciences and the most unfavourable of fortunes, I do not know how to suit what I shall say both to my feelings and to the situa-
3 tion. In fact, the best judge of my cause is not present; why he should not wish to hear me himself, I cannot, by Heaven! imagine,[b] since after having heard both sides of the case, he can as readily condemn me as acquit me, but if he has not heard both sides, I cannot be acquitted in his absence since I
4 was condemned by him when he was present. But although the defence of a man in fetters is not only superfluous but also odious, since he seems not to inform the judge but to accuse him, nevertheless, in whatever manner I am allowed to speak, I shall not myself fail, nor let myself seem to have been con-
5 demned by my own voice as well. For my part, I do not see with what crime I am charged; no one among the conspirators names me, Nicomachus said nothing about me, Cebalinus could not know more than he
6 had heard. And yet the king believes me to have been the head of the conspiracy! Could Dymnus then fail to mention the one whose follower he was, especially when I ought to have been named, even falsely, to Nicomachus, who asked[c] who were his associates, in order that the man who was being
7 tempted might be more easily persuaded? For when the crime was disclosed, he did not leave out my name in order that he might seem to have spared an associate; for when he confessed to Nicomachus, who he

cana de semetipso credebat, confessus, aliis nominatis
8 me unum subtrahebat. Quaeso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me de coniuratis scire voluisset, num hodie dicerem causam, nullo me nomi-
9 nante? Dymnus sane ut[1] vivat[2] adhuc et velit[3] mihi parcere, quid ceteri? Qui de se confitebuntur, me videlicet subtrahent! Maligna est calamitas, et fere noxius, cum suo supplicio crucietur, acquiescit
10 alieno. Tot conscii ne in eculeum quidem impositi verum fatebuntur? Atqui nemo parcit morituro nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor.
11 "Ad verum crimen et ad unum revertendum mihi est; 'cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti? cur tam securus audisti?' Hoc, qualecumque est, confesso mihi, ubicumque es, Alexander, remisisti; dexteram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque
12 interfui. Si credidisti mihi, absolutus sum, si pepercisti, dimissus: vel iudicium tuum serva. Quid hac proxima nocte, qua digressus sum a mensa tua, feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit animum
13 tuum? Gravi sopore acquiescebam, cum me malis indormientem mei[4] inimici vinciendo excitaverunt. Unde et parricidae et prodito[5] tam alti quies somni?
14 Scelerati conscientia obstrepente condormire[6] non possunt; agitant eos Furiae cogitato[7] modo, nedum[8]

[1] ut *Jeep;* et *A.*
[2] vivat *Aldus;* uiuet *P m. pr.;* uiueret *C.*
[3] velit *Aldus;* uelut *A.* [4] mei *Hedicke;* meis *A.*
[5] prodito *Acidalius;* proditori *A.*
[6] condormire *Modius;* comdormire *P m. pr.;* cum dormire *C.* [7] non cogitato *A;* non *deleted by Hedicke.*
[8] nedum *Hedicke;* sed etiam *A.*

believed would keep in silence the secrets about him-
8 self, having named others, me alone he left out. Pray, fellow-soldiers, if Cebalinus had not come to me, if he had wished me to know nothing about the conspirators, would I to-day be pleading my cause, when
9 no one named me? Suppose that Dymnus were still alive and wished to spare me, what of the rest? Those who will confess their own guilt will of course be silent about me! Calamity is malign, and as a rule a guilty person, when suffering his own torture,
10 assents to that of another. Will so many accomplices not confess the truth even when placed upon the rack? And yet no one spares one who is about to die, and in my opinion one who is about to die spares no one.
11 "I must return to the real and only accusation against me: 'Why did you keep silence about the matter which was reported to you? why did you hear it with so little concern?' This, such as it is, you, Alexander, wherever you are, pardoned when I confessed it; grasping your right hand, as a pledge of restored friendship, I even was present at your
12 banquet. If you believed me, I was acquitted, if you spared me, I was dismissed; pray abide by your decision. What have I done during this last night, when I left your table? what new crime has been reported
13 to you and changed your mind? I was resting in heavy sleep, when, as I had fallen asleep over my misfortunes, my enemies awakened me by binding me. Whence did such deep sleep come to a traitor and
14 one who had been betrayed? The wicked cannot sleep soundly because of the clamours of conscience; the Furies torment them when their treason is merely planned, much more when it has been accom-

consummato parricidio. At mihi securitatem primum innocentia mea, deinde tua dextera obtulerat; non timui, ne plus alienae crudelitati apud te liceret
15 quam clementiae tuae. Sed ne te mihi credidisse paeniteat, res ad me deferebatur a puero, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, imple-
16 turus omnes metu, si coepisset audiri. Amatoris et scorti iurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix, et fidem eius suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret
17 sed fratrem potius subornaret. Timui ne negaret mandasse se Cebalino et ego viderer multis amicorum
18 regis fuisse periculi causa. Sic quoque, cum laeserim neminem, inveni qui mallet perire me quam incolumem esse; quid inimicitiarum creditis excepturum
19 fuisse, si insontes lacessissem? At enim Dymnus se occidit! Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Minime. Ita, quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cum a Cebalino interpellatus sum, movere non poterat.
20 At hercules, si conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuissem, biduo illo proditos esse nos dissimulare non debui; Cebalinus ipse tolli de medio nulloque negotio potuit.
21 Denique post delatum indicium quod operturus[1] eram, cubiculum regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? An sine Dymno non
22 sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps coniurationis fuit,

[1] quod operturus *Jeep;* operiturus *FP m. pr.;* opperiturus *BLV.*

plished. But to me, first my blamelessness, then your right hand, had brought freedom from care ; I had no fear that more would be allowed to the cruelty
15 of others than to your clemency. But to prevent you from regretting your belief in me, let me say that the matter was reported to me by a mere boy, who could show me no witness nor proof of his information, and who would fill all with fear if he should begin to be
16 heard. Unhappily I believed that my ears had been exposed to a quarrel of a wanton and his boy, and besides I suspected his truthfulness because he did not himself bring the report, but employed his
17 brother instead. I feared lest he should deny having given instructions to Cebalinus, and I should seem to have been the cause of danger to many of the king's
18 friends. Even as it is, although I have injured no one, I have found one who preferred that I should perish rather than be unharmed ; what enmities do you think I should have incurred, if I had attacked blameless
19 persons ? But, you will say, Dymnus killed himself ! Could I have divined that he would do so ? Certainly not. Hence the only thing which has given assurance to this information could not influence me when I was
20 accosted by Cebalinus. But, by Heaven, if I had been an accomplice with Dymnus in so great a crime, I ought not to have concealed for those two days my knowledge that we had been betrayed ; Cebalinus himself could have been put out of the
21 way, and with no trouble. Finally, after the information which I was going to conceal had been made known, I entered the king's bedroom alone, and wearing a sword. Why did I put off the deed ? Was
22 it that I did not dare to do it without Dymnus ? He then was the leader of the conspiracy and I, Philotas,

sub illius umbra Philotas latebam, qui regnum Macedonum affecto! Ecquis e vobis corruptus est donis? Quem ducem, quem praefectum impensius colui?

23 "Mihi quidem obicitur quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ego imperio quod dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit; tam victoribus, quam victis peregrina
24 lingua discenda est. Non, mehercule, ista me magis laedunt, quam quod Amyntas, Perdiccae filius, insidiatus est regi. Cum quo quod amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem regis non oportuit
25 diligi a nobis. Sin autem in illo fortunae gradu positum etiam venerari necesse erat; utrum, quaeso, quod non divinavi, reus sum, an impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est? Quod si aequum est, cur tam diu vivo? si iniustum, cur nunc tamen[1]
26 occidor? At enim scripsi misereri me eorum quibus vivendum esset sub eo qui se Iovis filium crederet. Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, vos me[2] decepistis! vos quae sentiebam ne reticerem,
27 impulistis! Scripsisse me haec fateor regi, non de rege scripsisse.[3] Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur, qui Iovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret quam qui
28 praedicatione iactaret. Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit deus causae meae testis; retinete me

[1] tamen *Eberhard;* demum *A.*
[2] vos me *I;* me *A.*
[3] scripsisse *deleted by Aldus.*

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[a] Used freely of a cousin, see vi. 9. 17.
[b] That is, it was not criticism, but advice, as explained in the next sentence.

who aspire to the throne of Macedonia was lurking under his shadow! Has anyone of you been bribed by gifts? To what general, to what prefect did I show too marked attention?

23 "It is even charged against me that I scorn association with my native language, that I disdain the customs of the Macedonians. So then I aspire to the rule of something which I hold in contempt. It is long ago that that native tongue has gone out of use through intercourse with other nations; a foreign language has to be learned as well by the victors as by
24 the vanquished. Those charges, by Heaven! are no more injurious to me than it is that Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, plotted against the king. The charge that I was on friendly terms with him I do not refuse to meet, provided it was our duty not to love the king's
25 brother.[a] But if it was necessary even to venerate one in that lofty position, am I, pray, guilty because I did not have the power of divination, or must the innocent friends of guilty men also die? But if that is just, why have I lived so long? if unjust, why am
26 I nevertheless to die now? But, it may be said, I also wrote that I pitied those who had to live under a man who believed himself the son of Jupiter. O loyalty to friendship, O dangerous freedom in giving true counsel, it is you that played me false! It was you that impelled me not to keep silent about
27 what I thought. I confess that I wrote this to the king, but not about the king.[b] For I did not seek to rouse ill-will against him, but I feared for him. It seemed to me more worthy of Alexander to recognize in silence the parentage of Jupiter, than
28 to boast of it publicly. But since the truth of the oracle is sure, let the god bear witness in my case;

in vinculis, dum consulitur Hammo, num[1] arcanum et occultum scelus inierim.[2] Qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium, neminem eorum qui stirpi suae insidi-
29 ati sunt latere patietur. Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne hanc quidem exhibendae veritatis fidem deprecor.
30 "Solent rei capitis adhibere vobis parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi, patrem nec ostendere possum nec invocare audeo, cum et ipse tanti criminis reus
31 sit. Parum est enim tot modo liberum parentem, in unico filio acquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, nisi ipse
32 in rogum meum imponitur. Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris et mecum; ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam exstinguo. Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus diis? an, ut hos
33 ex me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Nescio, adulescentia mea miserior sit an senectus tua; ego in ipso robore aetatis eripior, tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem, si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura
34 poscebat. Admonuit me patris mei mentio quam timide et cunctanter quae Cebalinus detulerat ad me indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim cum audisset venenum a Philippo medico regi parari, deterrere eum voluit epistula scripta, quo minus medicamentum
35 biberet quod medicus dare constitueret. Num creditum est patri meo? num ullam auctoritatem eius litterae habuerunt? Ego ipse quotiens quae audie-

[1] Hammo, num *Hedicke;* ammodum *A.*
[2] inierim *Jeep;* interim *A.*

[a] *Cf.* vi. 11. 23 *qui Philippum dedignatur patrem*, vi. 11. 5 *Alexandrum filium agnoscentis*; Virg. *Aen.* iv. 536.
[b] See iii. 6. 4.

keep me in fetters while Hammon is asked whether I planned a secret and hidden crime. He who has recognized[a] our king as son will not suffer those who have plotted against his stock to be concealed.
29 If you believe tortures to be more trustworthy than oracles, I do not refuse even that testimony for bringing the truth to light.
30 "Those who are charged with a capital offence are accustomed to bring their relatives before you. I have recently lost two brothers, my father I cannot bring before you, nor do I dare to appeal to him, since
31 he himself is accused of this great crime. For it is not enough that he who was lately the father of so many sons, and now takes comfort in but one, should be bereft of him too, unless he himself is placed upon
32 my funeral pyre. Therefore, dearest father, you will die both because of me and with me; it is I who am taking your life from you, I who am extinguishing you in your old age. Why, pray, did you beget unhappy me under adverse gods? Was it that you might reap
33 from me these fruits which await you? I know not whether my youth or your old age is the more wretched. I am taken off in the very flower of my strength, from you the executioner will take the life which, if Fortune had been willing to wait, Nature
34 was demanding. The mention of my father has reminded me how timidly and hesitatingly I ought to have revealed what Cebalinus had reported to me. For Parmenion, when he had heard that poison was being prepared for the king by his physician Philip,[b] wrote him a letter and tried to prevent him from drinking the potion which the physician had decided
35 to give him. Was my father believed? His letter had no weight, had it? As for myself, how often

ram detuli et cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum ! Si et, cum indicamus, invisi et, cum tacemus, suspecti
36 sumus, quid facere nos oportet ? " Cumque unus e circumstantium turba exclamasset : " Bene meritis non insidiari ! " Philotas : " Recte," inquit, " quis-
37 quis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus sum, poenam non deprecor et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus." Abducitur deinde ab eis qui custodiebant eum.

XI. Erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine ad eum gradum in quo tunc erat
2 promotus ; qui tacentibus ceteris stolida audacia ferox admonere eos coepit, quotiens suis quisque deversoriis quae occupassent proturbatus esset ut purgamenta servorum Philotae reciperentur eo, unde
3 commilitones expulissent. Auro argentoque vehicula eius onusta totis vicis stetisse, ac[1] ne in viciniam quidem deversorii[2] quemquam commilitonum receptum esse, sed per dispositos quos supra somnum habebat, omnis procul relegatos, ne femina illa murmurantium inter se silentio verius quam sono ex-
4 citaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines, Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae

[1] ac *Freinshem;* at *A.*
[2] deversorii *Hedicke;* diuersorii *A.*

[a] An example of the speaker's *stolida audacia*, = " that coward."

[b] Races who provided many slaves; *cf.* Aristophanes' appellation of Cleon as ὁ Παφλαγών in the *Knights.*

have I reported what I had heard and been repulsed with mockery of my credulity! If we are both disliked when we report anything, and suspected when
36 we keep silence, what are we to do?" And when one of the throng of bystanders had exclaimed "not plot against your benefactors!", Philotas replied:
37 "You speak rightly, whoever you are. Hence, if I have so plotted, I do not beg for immunity from punishment, and I make an end of speaking, since my last words have seemed to displease your ears." Philotas was then led away by the men who were guarding him.

XI. There was among the generals one Bolon, valiant in deeds of arms, but unacquainted with the arts of peace and with civil manners, an old soldier, who had risen from a humble rank to the position
2 which he then held; he, when the rest were silent, rudely and with coarse audacity began to remind them how often they had been put out of the quarters which they had occupied in order that the offscourings of Philotas' slaves might be received in the places from which they had driven out his fellow-
3 soldiers. That his wagons laden with gold and silver had stood in whole sections of the city, and that not one of his fellow-soldiers was admitted even to the neighbourhood of his lodging, but they were all removed to a distance by those whom he had placed in their positions to watch over his sleep, lest that she-man[a] might be disturbed by what is more truly described as the silence than the sound of those who
4 whispered together. That the rustic men had always been objects of his mockery, and were called Phrygians and Paphlagonians[b] by one who, though born a Macedonian, did not blush that men of his own

per interpretem audire. Nunc .eum[1] Hammonem consuli velle ; at[2] eundem Iovis arguisse mendacium Alexandrum filium agnoscentis, scilicet veritum ne
6 invidiosum esset quod dii offerrent. Cum insidiaretur capiti regis et amici, non consuluisse eum Iovem ; nunc ad oraculum mittere, dum pater eius sollicitet quibus[3] praesit in Media, et pecunia cuius custodia commissa sit perditos homines ad societatem sceleris
7 impellat. Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non qui Iovem interrogent[4] quod ex rege cognoverint, sed qui gratias agant, qui vota pro incolumitate regis optimi persolvant.

8 Tum vero universa contio accensa est, et a corporis custodibus initium factum, clamantibus discerpendum esse parricidam manibus eorum. Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sane iniquo
9 animo audiebat ; at[5] rex in contionem reversus, sive ut in custodia quoque torqueret, sive ut diligentius cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit et, quamquam in vesperam inclinabat dies,
10 tamen amicos convocari iubet. Et ceteris quidem placebat, Macedonum more obrui saxis, Hephaestio[6] autem et Craterus et Coenus tormentis veritatem

[1] Nunc eum *Bentley;* mecum *L m. pr. P;* necum *BFL m. sec. V.*

[2] velle ; at *Hedicke;* uellet *A.*

[3] sollicitet quibus *Hedicke;* sollicitet qui *P;* sollicitetur qui *C.*

[4] non qui Iovem interrogent *Giunta;* qui Iovem interrogent non *C;* qui Iovem interrogent *P.*

[5] at *added by Freinshem.*

[6] Hephaestio *Hedicke;* ephestio *A* (euphestio *B m. pr.*).

language heard his words through an interpreter.
5 Now he wished Hammon to be consulted; but that same man accused Jupiter of lying when he acknowledged Alexander as his son, fearing, forsooth, lest what the gods offered should be an object of envy!
6 When he was plotting against the life of his king and his friend, he did not consult Jupiter; now he would send to the oracle, in order that in the meantime his father may arouse those whom he governs in Media, and with the money entrusted to his charge may
7 induce abandoned men to share in his crime. They themselves would send to the oracle, not to ask Jupiter what they had learned from the king, but to thank him, and pay the vows which they had made for the safety of the best of kings.
8 Then truly the whole assembly was inflamed, and a beginning was made by the body-guards, who shouted that the traitor ought to be torn to pieces by their own hands. This indeed Philotas, who feared severer tortures, heard by no means reluctantly;
9 but the king, having returned to the assembly, either that he might also [a] torture him in prison, or that he might investigate the whole matter more carefully, adjourned the council to the following day, and although the time was approaching evening, he nevertheless ordered his friends to be called together.
10 And the rest for their part recommended that Philotas be stoned to death, according to the ancient custom of the Macedonians, but Hephaestion and Craterus and Coenus said [b] that the truth ought to be forced

[a] *Quoque* refers to the following word, which is unusual in Curtius; but *cf.* however vi. 6. 5; iv. 10. 15.

[b] The plural verb shows unanimity and throws doubt on Coenus' purpose suggested in vi. 9. 31.

exprimendam esse dixerunt ; et illi quoque qui aliud
11 suaserant in horum sententiam transeunt. Consilio ergo dimisso, Hephaestio cum Cratero et Coeno ad
12 quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt. Rex Cratero accersito et sermone habito, cuius summa non edita est, in intimam deversorii partem secessit et remotis arbitris in multam noctem quaestionis expectavit eventum.

13 Tortores in conspectum Philotae omnia crudelitatis
14 instrumenta proponunt. Et ille ultro : " Quid cessatis," inquit, " regis inimicum, interfectorem confitentem occidere ? Quid quaestione opus est ? cogitavi, volui." Craterus exigere, ut, quae con-
15 fiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. Tum[1] corripitur et, dum obligantur oculi, dum vestis exuitur, deos patrios, gentium iura nequiquam apud surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote et damnatus et inimicis in gratiam regis tor-
16 quentibus, laceratur. Ac primo, quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera iam non ad quaestionem, sed ad poenam ingerebantur, non vocem modo, sed etiam
17 gemitus habuit in potestate ; sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibituri modum essent, dicturum se quae scire expeterent
18 pollicetur. Sed finem quaestioni fore iurare eos per Alexandri salutem volebat removerique tortores. Et

[1] tum *P*; dum *C*.

[a] Apparently used without reference to any particular law.

from him by torments; and those also who had recommended the other course went over to their
11 opinion. Therefore the council was dismissed, and Hephaestion with Craterus and Coenus arose to put
12 Philotas to the question. The king, having summoned Craterus and had a talk with him, the subject of which has not been made public, withdrew into the inner part of his quarters, and dismissing all witnesses awaited until late at night the result of the inquisition.
13 The torturers laid out all their instruments of
14 cruelty before the eyes of Philotas. And he, of his own accord, said: "Why do you delay to kill the king's enemy, the murderer who confesses that he wished to kill him? What is the need of an inquisition? I planned it, I wished it." Craterus demanded that what he confessed he should also say under torture.
15 Then he was seized, and while his eyes were being bound, while his clothing was being taken off, he called upon his country's gods and on the law of nations,[a] but vainly to deaf ears. Then he was torn by the utmost torments, inasmuch as he had been condemned and his personal enemies were torturing
16 him to gratify the king. And at first, although now fire, and now the lash was used upon him, no longer for the purpose of seeking the truth, but as a punishment, he kept not only words but even groans under
17 control; but when his body, swollen with wounds, could no longer endure the blows of the scourges upon his bare bones, he promised that if they would moderate his tortures, he would tell them what they
18 wished to know. But he wished them to swear by Alexander's life that there would be an end to the torments, and the torturers removed. And when

utroque impetrato: "Cratere,"[1] inquit, "dic quid
19 me velis dicere." Illo indignante ludificari eum rursusque revocante tortores tempus petere coepit, dum reciperet spiritum, cuncta quae sciret indica-
20 turus. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque et ii maxime qui Parmenionem propinqua cognatione contingebant, postquam Philotan torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti, qua cautum erat ut propinqui eorum qui regi insidiati essent cum ipsis necarentur, alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque solitudines fugiunt, ingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso, donec rex, tumultu cognito, legem se de[2] supplicio coniunctorum sontibus remittere edixit.
21 Philotas verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit anceps coniectura est, quoniam et vera confessis et falsa dicentibus idem doloris finis ostenditur.
22 Ceterum: "Pater," inquit, "meus Hegelocho quam familiariter usus sit non ignoratis; illum dico Hegelochum qui in acie cecidit; omnium malorum nobis
23 is[3] fuit causa. Nam cum primum Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens ille: 'Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus,' inquit, 'qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? Actum est de nobis si ista
24 perpeti possumus. Non homines solum sed etiam deos despicit qui postulat deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus regem; incidimus in super-

[1] Cratere *Zumpt;* cratero *A*.
[2] de *added by Scheffer.*
[3] is *added by Vogel; A omits.*

[a] Followed by the infinitive because only the substance of the law is given.
[b] It is uncertain which of three men of this name is meant; probably the one named in iv. 5. 14.

both things were granted, he said: "Tell me, Cra-
19 terus, what you wish me to say." And when Craterus was indignant that Philotas was mocking him, and was calling the torturers back again, Philotas began to ask for time until he could recover his breath, after which he would tell everything which he knew.
20 Meanwhile the cavalry, all those of the noblest birth and especially such as were nearly related to Parmenion, after the report had spread abroad that Philotas was being tortured, fearing the law of the Macedonians by which it was provided that the relatives of those who had plotted against the king should be put to death with the guilty parties, some killed themselves, others fled to out-of-the-way mountains and to lonely desert places, while great terror spread through the entire camp, until the king, learning of the tumult, made proclamation [a] that he remitted the law providing for the punishment of those related to the guilty parties.
21 Whether Philotas wished to free himself from further torture by telling the truth or by a falsehood, it is difficult to divine, since the same end to suffering is offered to those who have confessed the truth and
22 to those who say what is false. At any rate, Philotas said: "How intimate my father was with Hegelochus you know well; I mean the Hegelochus who fell in battle [b]; he was the cause of all our misfortunes.
23 For as soon as the king gave orders that he should be saluted as the son of Jupiter, Hegelochus, indignant at that, said: 'Are we then to recognize this king, who disdains Philip as his father? It is all over with
24 us if we can endure that. He scorns, not only men, but even the gods, who demands to be believed a god. We have lost Alexander, we have lost our king; we

biam nec dis, quibus se exaequat, nec hominibus,
25 quibus se eximit, tolerabilem. Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri
26 sumus, a dis adoptabimur. Quis proavum huius Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccan occisos ultus est? Hic quidem interfectoribus patris ignovit.'

27 "Haec Hegelochus dixit super cenam; et postero die prima luce a patre accersor. Tristis erat et me maestum videbat; audieramus enim, quae
28 sollicitudinem incuterent. Itaque, ut experiremur utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa an altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Advenit ille,[1] eodemque sermone ultro repetito,[2] adiecit se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes vindicaturum, sive deesset animus, consilium silentio
29 esse tecturum. Parmenioni vivo adhuc Dareo intempestiva res videbatur; non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros Alexandrum, Dareo vero sublato praemium regis occisi Asiam et totum Orientem interfectoribus esse cessura. Approbatoque consilio in haec fides
30 et data est et accepta. Quod ad Dymnum[3] pertinet nihil scio, et haec confessus intellego non prodesse mihi quod praesentis[4] sceleris expers sum."

[1] Advenit ille *Hedicke;* acuenire *A*.
[2] repetito *I;* petito *A*. [3] Dymnum *I;* damnum *A*.
[4] praesentis *Hedicke;* persus *A*.

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[a] Alexander Philhellen, of the time of Darius and Xerxes; no one speaks of his death.

[b] A contemporary of Socrates and Euripides, who wrote his *Bacchae* at his court; Arist. *Polit.* v. 8. 11.

[c] *Cf.* Justin vii. 5.

have fallen under a tyranny endurable neither to the gods, to whom he makes himself equal, nor to men,
25 from whom he separates himself. Have we at the price of our blood created a god who disdains us, who is reluctant to enter into council with mortals? Believe me, we too, if we are men, shall be adopted by
26 the gods. Who avenged the death of Alexander,[a] the ancestor of this one, who afterwards that of Archelaüs,[b] who of Perdiccas?[c] He himself pardoned the murderers of his father.'[d]
27 "These were the words of Hegelochus at dinner[e]; and on the dawn of the following day I was summoned by my father. He was troubled and saw that I was sad; for we had heard what struck anxiety
28 into our hearts. Therefore, in order to learn whether Hegelochus had blurted out those words when heavy with wine, or whether they were inspired by some loftier design, we decided to have him summoned. He came, and after repeating the same sentiments of his own accord, he added that if we dared to take the lead, he would claim from us the honour of seconding our plan, or if we lacked the courage, he would bury
29 the plan in silence. To Parmenion the plan seemed premature while Darius still lived: for they would be killing Alexander, not for themselves, but for the enemy; but if Darius were out of the way, as a reward for killing the king Asia and the entire Orient would fall to his slayers. This advice was approved, and a pledge to that end was given and received.
30 So far as Dymnus is concerned, I know nothing, but I know that after this confession it does not avail me that I have no part in the present crime."

[a] *Cf.* iv. 7. 27.

[e] *Super cenam* is usual in such a connexion.

31 Illi rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque eius everberarent, expressere ut
32 hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. Exigentibus deinde ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, cum diu Bactra retentura regem viderentur, timuisse respondit, ne pater LXX natus annos, tanti exercitus dux,[1] tantae pecuniae custos, interim exstingueretur, ipsique spoliato tantis viribus occidendi regis causa non
33 esset. Festinasse ergo se, dum praemium in manibus haberet, repraesentare consilium; cui patrem afuisse[2] nisi crederent, tormenta, quamquam iam
34 tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare.[3] Illi collocuti satis quaesitum videri, ad regem revertuntur, qui postero die et, quae confessus erat Philotas, recitari et ipsum, quia ingredi non poterat, iussit
35 afferri. Omnia agnoscente eo, Demetrius,[4] qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producitur. Multa affirmatione animique pariter et constantia et vultus[5] abnuens, quicquam sibi in regem cogitatum
36 esse, tormenta etiam deposcebat in semetipsum; cum Philotas circumlatis oculis, ut incidere in Calan[6] quendam haud procul stantem, propius eum iussit accedere. Illo perturbato et recusante transire ad eum: "Patieris," inquit, "Demetrium mentiri rur-
37 susque me excruciari?" Calan vox sanguisque defecerant, et Macedones Philotan inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur, quia nec a Nicomacho nec

[1] dux tantus *A;* tantus *deleted by Vindelinus.*
[2] cui patrem afuisse *Hedicke;* cuius patrem fuisse *A.*
[3] recusare *Vindelinus;* recusaret *A.*
[4] eo Demetrius] eodem et prius *FP;* ei demetrius *V m. sec.*
[5] vultus *Heinse;* uultu *A.* [6] Calan *Hedicke;* calin *A.*

[6] That is, Parmenion.

31 They again applied tortures, and striking at his face and eyes with their own spears as well, they forced him to plead guilty to that crime also.
32 Then, when they required him to set forth the order of the proposed deed, he replied that since it seemed that Bactra would detain the king for a long time, they feared that his father,[a] being seventy years old, the leader of so great an army and custodian of so great a treasure, might meanwhile die, and that he himself, robbed of so great strength, would have
33 no reason for killing the king. That therefore he had hastened to carry out promptly the design while he had the prize in his hands; unless they believed that his father had no part in the present design, although he could no longer endure tortures, yet he did not
34 refuse them. They, after talking together, thinking that sufficient question had been made, returned to the king, who gave orders that on the following day what Philotas had confessed should be read, and that he himself should be carried in, since he could not walk.
35 When he had acknowledged everything, Demetrius, who was accused of sharing in the latest conspiracy, was led in. He stoutly denied, with equal assurance of mind and of countenance, that he had formed any design against the king, and even demanded that he
36 himself should be put to the question; when Philotas, turning his eyes on all sides, so that they fell upon a certain Calas, standing near by, bade him approach nearer. When he was troubled and refused to cross over to him, Philotas said: "Will you allow Demetrius
37 to lie, and me to be tortured again?" Calas turned pale and lost the power of speech, and the Macedonians suspected that Philotas wished to besmirch the innocent with guilt, since the youth had not been

ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset adulescens; qui ut praefectos regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse
38 confessus est. Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati, more patrio, dato signo saxis obruti sunt.
39 Magno non salutis, sed etiam invidiae[1] periculo liberatus erat Alexander; quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum, nisi palam sontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari.
40 Itaque anceps[2] quaestio fuit dum infitiatus est facinus; crudeliter torqueri videbatur post confessionem; et iam[3] Philotas[4] amicorum misericordiam meruit.[5]

[1] invidiae *Ruben;* uitae *A*.
[2] anceps q. f. dum *A;* dum anceps q. f. dum *Vogel*.
[3] et iam *Post,* etiam neque *C*, etiam eq *V in ras.;* iam neque *Vogel*.
[4] Philotas *FP;* Phylotas *BLV;* amicorum Philotas *Vogel*.
[5] *Punctuation and interpretation of* Itaque . . . meruit *Post and Lockwood*.

[a] Arrian (iii. 26) seems to believe in the guilt of Philotas, citing the opinion of Ptolemy son of Lagus and of Aristobulus, who accompanied Alexander and wrote a life of him

named by Nicomachus nor by Philotas when he was being tortured; but when he saw himself surrounded by the king's prefects, he confessed that Demetrius
38 and he himself had planned that crime. Therefore all who had been named by Nicomachus were stoned to death on a given signal, after the usage of their country.

39 Alexander had been freed from great danger, not indeed of death, but of hatred; for Parmenion and Philotas, the chief men among his friends, unless clearly shown to be guilty, could not have been condemned without exciting the indignation of the
40 whole army. Thus the issue of the case was doubtful as long as he denied the crime; that his torture was continued after the confession was considered an act of cruelty; and now Philotas merited the compassion of his friends.[a]

which is one of the chief sources of later biographers. So also Diodorus (xvii. 80) and Plutarch (*Alex.* xlviii.-xlix.). But Justin (xii. 5) condemns the king. Curtius' opinion is left uncertain by the text here given (*et iam*), but is definitely adverse to Philotas in that favoured by Vogel (*iam neque*), "not even of his friends."

BOOK VII

CONTENTS OF BOOK VII

The recent conspiracy leads Alexander to take up the case of Alexander Lyncestes, who had been in prison for three years. He is called upon to make a defence, and, failing to do so successfully, is put to death. The brothers Amyntas and Simias, friends of Philotas, are accused, but are defended by Amyntas (i).

Amyntas and his brother are restored to favour. Their younger brother, Polemon, who had fled when Philotas was tortured, is pardoned by Alexander. Polydamas is summoned and sent in haste to Media, where he brings about the death of Parmenion. Alexander separates from the rest of the army those soldiers who complained for various reasons (ii).

Alexander after subduing the Arimaspi and the Arachosii crosses Mount Parapanisus with his army and founds at its foot a city of Alexandria (iii).

Bessus at a banquet consults about war against Alexander. Gobares advises against it, but without effect. Bessus is deserted and flees to the Sogdiani. The single combat of Satibarzanes and Erigyius. Alexander arrives at Bactra and hears of the death of Satibarzanes (iv).

Alexander crosses the Oxus. Bessus is betrayed by Spitamenes and brought to Alexander; the king delivers him to Oxathres, brother of Darius, to be crucified (v).

Sogdiana is subdued but revolts again; Cyropolis and other cities are taken. A city of Alexandria is founded on the Iaxartes (vi).

Alexander, suffering from a wound, holds a consultation

about war with the Scythians. Aristander interprets the omens in accordance with the wishes of Alexander. Menedemus is defeated and slain with a loss of 2500 horsemen. Alexander conceals the disaster (vii).

While Alexander is preparing for war, envoys arrive from the Scythians and deliver an address proposing peace (viii).

Alexander, having dismissed the envoys, croses the Iaxartes and attacks the Scythians. Having defeated them, he treats them generously. He receives the Sacae in surrender and then pursues Spitamenes, who had defeated Menedemus (ix).

Sogdiana is recovered ; the high spirit of its nobles. Alexander returns to Bactra. Bessus is sent to Ecbatana to suffer punishment. Six cities are founded near Margiana (x).

The crag of Arimaza, almost impregnable from its situation and from the nature of the country, is captured by Alexander. Because of his obstinate defence its commander, Ariamazes, along with his relatives and other nobles, is scourged and crucified (xi).

LIBER VII

I. Philotan sicut recentibus sceleris eius vestigiis iure affectum supplicio censuerant milites, ita, postquam desierat esse quem odissent, invidia in miseri-
2 cordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas iuvenis et patris
3 eius senectus atque orbitas. Primus Asiam aperuerat regi, omnium periculorum eius particeps semper alterum in acie cornu defenderat, Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus et ipsi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet.
4 Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem. Quis ille haud sane motus satisque prudens otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit ut omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint.
5 Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in contionem processit.

Haud dubie ex composito Atarrhias postulare coepit ut Lyncestes Alexander, qui multo ante quam
6 Philotas regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur. A duobus indicibus, sicut supra diximus, delatus, ter-

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[a] This is an exaggeration, in spite of Parmenion's services in general.

[b] On *defenderat* for *tuebatur* in this sense *cf.* iv. 13. 35.

[c] *Cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xlix. 7; *De Fort. Alex.* ii. p. 339 E. Otherwise this fact is not mentioned.

[d] Apparently a proverb; *cf.* Senec. *Ep.* lvi. 9.

BOOK VII

I. Although while the traces of his crime were fresh, the soldiers believed that Philotas had been justly punished, yet after the man whom they hated had
2 ceased to live, hatred changed to pity. The distinction of the young Philotas affected them, and the
3 old age and bereavement of his father. Parmenion had been the first to open Asia to the king,[a] and as his partner in all dangers had had charge [b] of one wing of the army in battle; he had also been first of Philip's friends,[c] and was so faithful to Alexander himself that Alexander preferred to use no other
4 emissary in killing Attalus. The thought of these things occurred to the army, and mutinous words were reported to the king. He, being not greatly disturbed by these, and well aware that the faults of idleness are dispelled [d] by activity, made proclamation for all to appear at the entrance of his head-
5 quarters.[e] When he learned that they were present there in great numbers, he entered the assembly.

Atarrhias, undoubtedly by previous arrangement, began by asking that Lyncestes Alexander, who long before Philotas had wished to kill the king, should be
6 brought before them. He had been charged with this by two informers, as we have said above,[f] and

[e] This seems to be here, as often, the meaning of *regia*.
[f] In Book II (lost); *cf.* Arr. i. 25. 3 ff.

tium iam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eundem in Philippi quoque caedem coniurasse cum Pausania pro comperto fuit, sed quia primus Alexandrum regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quam crimini
7 fuerat exemptus ; tum quoque Antipatri soceri eius preces iustam regis iram morabantur. Ceterum recruduit suppuratus dolor ; quippe veteris periculi
8 memoriam praesentis cura renovabat. Igitur Alexander ex custodia educitur iussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen haesitans et trepidus pauca ex his quae composuerat protulit, ad ultimum non memoria solum,
9 sed etiam mens eum destituit. Nulli erat dubium quin trepidatio conscientiae indicium esset, non memoriae vitium. Itaque ex eis,[1] qui proximi adstiterant, obluctantem adhuc oblivioni lanceis confoderunt.

10 Cuius corpore ablato, rex introduci iussit Amyntam et Simian ; nam[2] Polemon, minimus ex fratribus,
11 cum Philotan torqueri comperisset, profugerat. Omnium Philotae amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius maxime suffragatione producti, memineratque rex summo studio ab eo conciliatos sibi, nec dubitabat huius quoque ultimi
12 consilii fuisse participes. Igitur queritur[3] olim sibi esse suspectos matris suae litteris, quibus esset ad-

[1] iis *Vindelinus;* his *A.*
[2] Simian ; nam *Hedicke;* simannam *A.*
[3] Igitur queritur *Hedicke;* igitur *A.*

[a] Both sons of Andromenes, also Attalus and Polemon, v. 1. 40, Arr. iii. 27. 1; *cf.* also Curt. vi. 11. 20.

was now spending the third year of his imprisonment in fetters. It was regarded as certain that he had also, with Pausanias, conspired to kill Philip, but because he had been the first to hail Alexander as king, he was exempted from punishment rather than
7 from guilt; then too the prayers of his father-in-law Antipater were delaying the king's just anger. However, the resentment which had been coming to a head broke out anew, since anxiety from the present danger revived the memory of the one of long stand-
8 ing. Therefore Alexander (Lyncestes) was brought out of prison, and when ordered to speak, although for three whole years he had practised a defence, yet hesitating and trembling he presented only a few words of what he had composed, and finally, not
9 only his memory, but his thoughts failed him. No one doubted that his alarm was an indication of a guilty conscience and not of a failure of memory. Accordingly, some of those who stood nearest to him ran him through with their lances as he was still struggling with forgetfulness.

10 When his body had been taken away, the king ordered Amyntas and Simias [a] to be brought in, for Polemon, the youngest of the brothers, had fled when he heard that Philotas was being tortured.
11 These had been the dearest of all Philotas' friends, and had been advanced to important and honourable positions mainly through his influence, and the king remembered that Philotas had recommended them to him with the greatest urgency, and did not doubt that they had been participants also in this last design
12 of his. Therefore he complained that they had long since been objects of his suspicion because of letters of his mother, in which he had been warned to protect

monitus ut ab his salutem suam tueretur; ceterum se invitum deteriora credentem nunc manifestis
13 indiciis victum iussisse vinciri. Nam pridie quam detegeretur Philotae scelus, quin in secreto cum eo fuissent non posse dubitari.[1] Fratrem vero, qui profugerit cum de Philota quaereretur, aperuisse
14 fugae causam. Nuper praeter consuetudinem, officii specie amotis longius ceteris, admovisse semetipsos lateri suo nulla probabili causa, seque mirantem quod non vice sua tali fungerentur officio, et ipsa trepidatione eorum perterritum, strenue ad armigeros, qui proxime sequebantur, recessisse.
15 Ad haec accedere, quod, cum Antiphanes, scriba equitum, Amyntae denuntiasset, pridie quam Philotae scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis more solito daret[2] eis[3] qui amisissent equos, superbe respondisset,[4] nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum
16 quis ipse esset. Iam linguae violentiam temeritatemque verborum, quae in semetipsum iacularentur, nihil aliud esse quam scelesti animi indicem ac testem. Quae si vera essent, idem meruisse eos quod Philotan,
17 si falsa, exigere ipsum ut refellant. Productus deinde Antiphanes de equis non traditis et adiectis etiam
18 superbe minis indicat. Tum[5] Amyntas facta dicendi potestate: "Si nihil," inquit, "interest regis, peto ut,

[1] dubitari *I;* dubitare *A.*
[2] daret *Aldus;* darent *A.* [3] iis *I;* his *A.*
[4] respondisset *Letellier;* respondisse *A.*
[5] indicat. Tum *Freinshem;* inde captum *A.*

[a] *Vice sua* is ablative for the more common accusative; see vii. 2. 5, below.

[b] A scribe, γραμματεύς, who kept a list of the soldiers and an account of their receipts and expenditures.

his life against them ; but that although he had been unwilling to believe unfavourable reports, now forced by clear proofs, he had ordered them to be im-
13 prisoned. For it could not be doubted that the day before the crime of Philotas was revealed they had been with him in secret. Moreover, their brother who had run away during the inquisition of Philotas
14 had made clear the reason for his flight. Lately, under the pretence of rendering service, they had removed all other persons to a distance, and contrary to custom had attached themselves to his side without any plausible reason, and because he was surprised that they performed such service out of their turn,[a] and alarmed by their very confusion, he had quickly taken refuge with his guards who were following close after him.

15 It was added to this, that when Antiphanes, commissary of the cavalry,[b] had given orders to Amyntas, the day before the crime of Philotas had been discovered, that, as was usual, he should turn over some of his horses to those who had lost theirs, Amyntas had replied insolently, that unless Antiphanes gave up his attempt, he would soon know who Amyntas
16 was. That now his violent tongue and the rash words that were hurled at the king himself were nothing other than an indication of, and testimony to, an evil design. If these charges were true, those men deserved the same treatment as Philotas, if false, he himself demanded that they should refute them.
17 Then Antiphanes, being brought forward, gave testi-
18 mony about the failure to deliver the horses and also that Amyntas had arrogantly added threats. Then Amyntas, on being given permission to speak, said : " If it makes no difference to the king, I ask that,

dum dico, vinculis liberer." Rex solvi utrumque iubet desiderantique Amyntae, ut habitus quoque redderetur armigeri, lanceam dari iussit.

19 Quam ut laeva comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo Alexandri corpus paulo ante iacuerat : " Qualiscumque," inquit, " exitus nos manet, rex, confitemur prosperum tibi debituros, tristiorem fortunae im-
20 putaturos. Sine praeiudicio dicimus causam liberis corporibus animisque ; habitum etiam in quo te comitari solemus reddidisti. Causam non possumus, fortunam timere desinemus.[1]

21 " Et, quaeso, permittas mihi id primum defendere, quod a te ultimum obiectum est. Nos, rex, sermonis adversus maiestatem tuam habiti nullius conscii sumus nobis. Dicerem iam pridem vicisse te invidiam, nisi periculum esset ne alia malignius dicta
22 crederes blanda oratione purgari. Ceterum etiam si militis tui vel in agmine deficientis et fatigati vel in acie periclitantis vel in tabernaculo aegri et vulnera curantis aliqua vox asperior esset accepta, meruera-mus fortibus factis, ut malles ea tempori nostro
23 imputare quam animo. Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sumus[2] ; corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus[3] manus ; parentes, liberis[4] si occurrant, et ingrati et invisi sunt. Contra cum donis honoramur, cum praemiis onusti revertimur, quis ferre nos potest ? quis illam animorum

[1] desinemus *Vindelinus;* desiemus *A.*

[2] sumus *Bentley;* sunt *A.*

[3] infestas admovemus *Aldus;* infectas admouemus *BFL;* infectus admouemus *V; P omits.*

[4] liberis *A, defended by Post;* liberi *Eberhard.*

[a] See Quint. v. 2. 1. Here there is a contrast with the condition in which Philotas made his defence.

while I am speaking I may be freed from fetters." The king ordered both to be released, and when Amyntas desired that the apparel of a guard also be restored to him, he ordered that a lance be given him.

19 When he took this in his left hand, shunning the place in which the body of Alexander Lyncestes had lain a short time before, Amyntas said : " Whatever outcome awaits us, Sire, we confess that if it is favourable, we shall owe it to you ; that if it is less so, we
20 shall attribute it to ill-fortune. We plead our cause without prejudice,[a] bodies and minds both free ; you have also even restored the apparel in which we are accustomed to attend you. We cannot distrust our cause, we shall cease to fear ill-fortune.

21 " And, I pray you, allow me to meet first the charge which you last made against me. We, Sire, are conscious of no language directed against your majesty. I would say that you have long since risen superior to ill-will, if there were not danger lest you might believe that other more malicious words were
22 being purged away by flattering language. But even if some harsher speech had been heard from a soldier of yours, either when wearied and worn out on the march or encountering danger in battle, or in his tent when ailing and attending to his wounds, we have deserved by brave deeds that you should prefer to impute it to our exigency rather than to ill-will.
23 Whenever anything especially sad happens, we are all criminals ; we turn hostile hands against our own bodies, which we in no way hate ; parents, if they oppose their children, become disliked and hated. On the other hand, when we are honoured by gifts, when we return loaded with prizes, who can endure

24 alacritatem continere ? Militantium nec indignatio nec laetitia moderata est ; ad omnes affectus impetu rapimur. Vituperamus laudamus, miseremur irascimur, utcumque praesens movit affectio ; modo Indiam adire et Oceanum libet, modo coniugum et liberorum patriaeque memoria occurrit.

25 " Sed has cogitationes, has inter se colloquentium voces signum tuba datum finit ; in suos quisque ordines currimus, et quidquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est in hostium effunditur capita. Utinam 26 Philotas quoque intra verba peccasset ! Proinde ad id revertar propter quod rei sumus. Amicitiam quae nobis cum Philota fuit adeo non eo infitias, ut expetisse quoque nos magnosque ex ea fructus per- 27 cepisse confitear. An vero Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse voluisti, filium omnes paene amicos tuos dignatione vincentem cultum a nobis esse mira- 28 ris ? Tu, hercules, si verum audire vis, rex, huius nobis periculi es[1] causa. Quis enim alius effecit ut ad Philotan decurrerent qui placere vellent tibi ? Ab illo traditi, ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuae ascendimus ; is apud te fuit, cuius et gratiam[2] expetere et 29 iram timere possemus. Si non propemodum in tua verba, at tui[3] omnes te praeeunte[4] iuravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu haberes. Hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti, aversaremur[5]

[1] periculi es *I;* periculis *P;* pericules *C m. pr.*
[2] et gratiam *Bentley;* *ē* gratiam *P;* gratiam *C.*
[3] in tua verba, at tui *Bentley;* tuo uerberatu ei *A.*
[4] praeeunte *Lauer;* praetereunte *A.*
[5] aversaremur *Modius;* obuersaremur *A.*

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[a] *periculum*, in the legal meaning of *κίνδυνος*.
[b] The regular soldiers' oath, as well as that of a surrendering people ; see Livy xxxvii. 1. 5.

24 us ? who can master that enthusiasm of spirit ? With soldiers neither their indignation nor their joy is restrained; we are carried away with violence to all emotions. We blame, we praise ; we pity, we show anger, just as the present emotion affects us ; now it pleases us to go to India and the Ocean, now the memory of wives and children and of fatherland causes opposition.

25 " But to these thoughts, these words of those who talk together, the signal given by the trumpet puts an end; we hasten each to his own place in the ranks, and whatever anger had been conceived in the tent is discharged upon the heads of the enemy. Would that Philotas also had confined his wrongdoing to 26 words ! Therefore let me return to the matter about which we are being accused. The friendship that we had with Philotas I am so far from denying, that I admit that we both sought from it and gained from it 27 great fruitage. Or indeed do you wonder that the son of Parmenion, whom you have been pleased to have next in rank to yourself, surpassing almost all 28 your friends in distinction, was courted by us ? You, by Heaven !, if you are willing to listen to the truth, Sire, are the cause of our present jeopardy.[a] For who else brought it about that those who wished to please you should run to Philotas ? It is because we were recommended by him that we have mounted to our present rank in your friendship ; he held such a place in your estimation, that we might seek his 29 favour and fear his anger. Have we not, all of us soldiers, sworn, if not almost in your own words, at least in the form dictated by you, that we would regard the same men as enemies and friends as yourself ?[b] Bound as we were by this oath of

30 scilicet quem tu omnibus praeferebas ! Igitur, si hoc crimen est, paucos innocentes habes, immo, hercules, neminem. Omnes enim Philotae amici esse voluerunt, sed totidem quot volebant esse non poterant Ita, si a consciis amicos non dividis, ne ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui idem esse voluerunt.

31 " Quod igitur conscientiae affertur indicium ? Ut opinor, quia pridie familiariter et sine arbitris locutus est nobiscum. At ego purgare non possem, si pridie quicquam ex vetere vita ac more mutassem. Nunc vero, si, ut[1] omnibus diebus, illo quoque qui suspectus est fecimus, consuetudo diluet crimen.

32 " Sed equos Antiphani non dedimus, et pridie quam Philotas detectus est. Hic[2] mihi cum Antiphane res erit. Qui si nos suspectos facere vult, quod illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quod eos
33 desideraverit, purgare non poterit. Anceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem, nisi quod melior est causa suum non tradentis quam poscentis
34 alienum. Ceterum, rex, equos decem habui[3] e quibus Antiphanes octo iam distribuerat eis[4] qui amiserant suos, omnino duos ipse habebam ; quos cum vellet abducere homo[5] superbissimus, certe iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebar.
35 Nec infitias eo liberi hominis animo locutum esse me

[1] si, ut *I;* sicut *A.* [2] hic *P;* haec *C.*
[3] habui *V corr.;* habui habeo *F;* obui abeo *L;* habeo *BP.*
[4] iis *P;* his *C.*
[5] *The frag. Einsidlense* (*E*) *begins with* -cere homo.

loyalty, we were, forsooth, to be unfriendly to one
30 whom you preferred to all others! Therefore, if this is a crime, you have few who are blameless, nay, by Heaven, not one. For all wished to be friends of Philotas, but not all those who wished to be could be. So, if you do not distinguish his friends from the guilty, you will not separate, either, from his friends those who have wished to be such.
31 "What evidence of guilty knowledge, then, is brought against us? I suppose it is because the day before he talked with us familiarly and without witnesses. But I could not excuse myself, if on that day I had made any change in my former life and custom. So, now that on that day also which is the object of suspicion we did what we did every day, adherence to custom will free us from guilt.
32 "But we did not hand over the horses to Antiphanes, and that too on the day before Philotas was unmasked. This will be a matter between me and Antiphanes. If he wished to expose us to suspicion because on that day we did not give him the horses, he will not be able to justify himself because he asked
33 for them then. For the guilt is in doubt as between him who retained them and him who demanded them, except that the cause of one who did not give up what was his own is better than that of one who
34 demanded what belonged to another. As a matter of fact, Sire, I had ten horses, of which Antiphanes had already distributed eight to those who had lost their own and I myself had left but two in all; when that most insolent man, at any rate the most unfair, wished to lead away these, I was forced to retain
35 them unless I wished to fight on foot. And I do not deny that I spoke to him in the spirit of a free man,

cum ignavissimo et hoc unum militiae ius[1] usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuat. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandro excusem et Antiphani!

36 "At, hercule, mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit. Utinam prudentius esset sollicita pro filio et non inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret![2] Quare[3] enim non ascribit metus sui causam? denique non ostendit auctorem? Quo facto dictove nostro mota,

37 tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram condicionem meam, quia forsitan non periculosius est tacere quam dicere! Sed utcumque cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere quam causam. Agnosces autem quae dicturus sum; quippe meministi, cum me ad perducendos ex Macedonia milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos integros iuvenes in domo

38 tuae matris abscondi. Praecepisti igitur mihi ne quem praeter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci et liberius quam expediebat[4] mihi executus sum tuum imperium. Gorgiam et Hecataeum et Gorgidan,[5] quorum bona

39 opera uteris, inde perduxi. Quid igitur iniquius est quam me, qui, si tibi non paruissem, iure daturus fui poenas, nunc perire, quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuae persequendi nos causa est, quam quod

40 utilitatem tuam muliebri praeposuimus gratiae. VI

[1] ius *Bentley;* suae *A.*
[2] figuraret] fugararet *apparently P m. pr.;* figuraretur *E.*
[3] quare] quae *E.* [4] expediebat *E;* expedibat *A.*
[5] Gorgidan *Hedicke;* gorgatan *AE.*

[a] These scribes in general were looked down upon by the soldiers, as non-combatants; they were usually of low condition and often slaves.

addressing one of the basest [a] and one who enjoyed only this privilege of military service, of distributing the horses of others to those who were going to fight. For it has come to this condition of evils, that I must excuse my words at the same time both to Alexander and to Antiphanes !

36 " But, by Heaven ! your mother has written that we are your enemies. Would that her solicitude for her son had been accompanied by more prudence, and that she had not through anxiety of mind pictured vain phantoms ! For why does she not add the reason for her fear ? finally, why does she not reveal the authority for it ? By what deed or word of ours was
37 she moved to write you so agitated a letter ? O wretched fortune of mine, since perhaps it is not more dangerous to be silent than to speak ! But whatever the result may be, I prefer that it should be my manner of defence rather than my cause that displeases you. But you will admit what I am about to say ; for you remember that when you sent me to bring soldiers from Macedonia, you said that there were many young men fit for service who were hidden
38 away in your mother's palace. Therefore you instructed me that I should regard no one except you, but should bring to you those who declined military service. This I did, and I executed your order with more zeal than was expedient for me. I brought from there Gorgias, Hecataeus, and Gorgidas, who
39 are rendering you good service. What, then, is more unjust than that I, who, if I had not obeyed you, would justly have suffered punishment, should now die because I did obey ? For your mother has no other reason for persecuting us than that we preferred
40 your advantage to a woman's favour. I brought 6000

milia Macedonum peditum et DC equites adduxi; quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluissem. Sequitur ergo, ut, quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui irae eius nos obtulisti."

II. Dum haec Amyntas agit, forte supervenerunt qui fratrem eius Polemonem, de quo ante est dictum, fugientem consecuti, vinctum reducebant. Infesta contio vix inhiberi potuit quin protinus suo more saxa in eum[1] iaceret. Atque ille sane interritus[2]: 2 "Nihil," inquit, "pro me deprecor, modo ne fratrum innocentiae fuga inputetur mea. Haec si defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, quod ego, quia[3] profugi, suspectus 3 sum." At haec elocuto universa contio assensa est; lacrimae deinde omnibus manare coeperunt, adeo in contrarium repente mutatis, ut solum pro eo esset 4 quod maxime laeserat. Iuvenis erat primo aetatis flore pubescens, quem inter equites tormentis Philotae conturbatos[4] alienus terror abstulerat; desertum eum a comitibus et haesitantem inter revertendi fugiendique consilium, qui secuti erant occupaverunt.

[1] meum in eum *E*. [2] interritus *C*; territus *EP*.
[3] quia *Bentley*; qui *AE*.
[4] conturbatos] conturbatis *EP*; conturbato *E*.

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[a] See v. 1. 40, where the number of cavalry is given as 500; Diodorus has 600, as here.

[b] vii. 1. 10. Arrian iii. 27. 2 differs in details. Curtius

Macedonian infantry and 600 horsemen [a]; a part of these would not have followed me, if I had been willing to show indulgence to those who shrank from military service. Therefore it follows that, because it is for that reason that she is angry with us, you should soothe your mother, since it is you who have exposed us to her anger."

II. While Amyntas was making this plea, those chanced to arrive who had pursued his brother Polemon, of whom mention has been made before,[b] and whom, being in flight, they were bringing back in bonds. The incensed assembly could hardly be restrained from at once stoning him to death, according to their custom. But he, quite unterrified, said:
2 "I ask no mercy for myself, provided my flight be not prejudicial to the innocence of my brothers.[c] If this cannot be defended, let the guilt be mine. Their cause is the better for the very reason that I was
3 suspected because I took flight." But when he had said this, the whole assembly sympathized; now they all began to shed tears, and were suddenly so changed to the opposite opinion that what had especially damaged his cause was the only thing that was
4 in his favour. He was a young man just come to maturity and in the first bloom of his youth, one of the horsemen who had been terrified by the torture of Philotas and whom the alarm of others had led to flee; deserted by his companions, and wavering between the purpose of returning and of fleeing, he was overtaken by those who had followed him.

uses the tradition which he follows to make a very vivid picture, in much fuller detail than Arrian.

[c] That is, if his flight will not be interpreted as evidence of the guilt of his brothers, who also fled.

5 Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare, maestus non suam vicem, sed propter ipsum periclitantium fratrum.[1]

6 Moveratque iam regem quoque, non contionem modo, sed unus erat implacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum : " Tum," exclamat,[2] " demens, lacrimare debueras, cum equo calcaria subderes, fratrum desertor et desertorum comes. Miser, quo et unde fugiebas ? Effecisti, ut reus capitis accusa-
7 toris uterer verbis." Ille peccasse sese[3] gravius in fratres quam in semetipsum fatebatur. Tum vero neque lacrimis neque adclamationibus quibus studia sua multitudo profitetur temperaverunt. Una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut insontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque, data misericordiae occasione, consurgunt flentesque regem deprecantur.
8 Ille silentio facto : " Et ipse," inquit, " Amyntan mea sententia[4] fratresque eius absolvo. Vos autem, iuvenes, malo beneficii mei oblivisci quam periculi vestri meminisse. Eadem fide redite in gratiam
9 mecum qua ipse vobiscum revertor. Nisi quae delata essent excussissem, aliquid de dissimulatione mea suspicari potuissetis[5] ; satius est purgatos esse quam suspectos. Cogitate neminem absolvi posse, nisi qui

[1] ipsum periclitantium fratrum] ipsos periclitantes fratres *E*.
[2] exclamat *Hedicke;* ait *AE*.
[3] sese *Hedicke;* se sed *C;* sese sed *P;* sese set *E*.
[4] mea sententia] *frag. E ends with these words.*
[5] aliquid . . . potuissetis *Hedicke;* ualde dissimulatio mea superare potuisset sed *A*.

5 He then began to weep and to beat his face, not grieving on his own account,[a] but on that of his brothers, who were endangered through him.
6 And now he had affected the king also, and not only the assembly, but his brother alone was inexorable, and gazing at him with a terrifying expression, exclaimed: "Then, madman, is when you ought to have wept, when you were applying spurs to your horse, a deserter of your brothers and a companion of deserters. Wretch, whither were you fleeing and from whom? You have forced me, on trial for my
7 life, to use the words of an accuser." Polemon confessed that he had sinned more grievously against his brothers than against himself. Then truly the soldiers did not moderate their tears and the acclamations[b] by which a crowd expresses its favour. One cry was uttered by common consent, that the king should pardon these brave and blameless men. His friends also, when opportunity for mercy had been
8 given, arose and with tears appealed to the king. He, having silenced them, said: "I myself by my vote acquit Amyntas and his brothers. But as for you, young men, I prefer that you should forget my kindness rather than remember your danger. Return to favour with me with the same confidence with which
9 I myself return to favour with you. If I had not examined what had been reported to me, you might have been able to feel some suspicion of my silence; it is better to be justified than to be suspected. Remember that no one can be acquitted unless he has

[a] The accusative is more common than the ablative, which occurs in vii. 1. 14; *cf.* Livy viii. 25. 1, etc.

[b] Acclamations sometimes expressed disapproval; see x. 7. 6.

10 dixerit causam. Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo. Erit hoc simpliciter etiam mihi reconciliati animi tui pignus."

11 Contione deinde dimissa, Polydamanta vocari iubet. Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proxi-
12 mus lateri in acie stare solitus. Et quamquam conscientia fretus in regiam venerat, tamen, ut iussus est fratres suos exhibere admodum iuvenes et regi ignotos ob aetatem, fiducia in sollicitudinem versa, trepidare coepit, saepius quae nocere possent quam
13 quibus eluderet reputans. Iam armigeri, quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cum exsanguem metu Polydamanta propius accedere iubet, summotisque omnibus : " Scelere," inquit, " Parmenionis omnes pariter appetiti sumus, maxime ego ac tu,
14 quos amicitiae specie fefellit. Ad quem persequendum puniendumque—vide quantum fidei tuae credam —te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum hoc peragis,
15 erunt fratres tui. Proficiscere in Mediam et ad praefectos meos litteras scriptas manu mea perfer. Velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem famae[1] antecedas. Noctu pervenire illuc te volo, postero die quae scripta
16 erunt exsequi. Ad Parmeniona quoque epistulas feres, unam a me, alteram Philotae nomine scriptam. Signum anuli eius in mea potestate est. Si pater credet a filio impressum, cum te viderit, nihil metuet."
17 Polydamas, tanto liberatus metu, impensius etiam

[1] famae *added by Vindelinus.*

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[a] *Cf.* iv. 11. 22; Cael. in Cic. *Ad Fam.* viii. 6. 1.
[b] See iv. 15. 6; Arr. iii. 26. 3.
[c] *exhibere*, a juristic term; *cf.* vii. 1. 5.
[d] For *eluderet cf.* Cic. *De Opt. Gen. Orat.* vi. 17.

10 pleaded his cause. Do you, Amyntas, pardon your brother. This will be a pledge that your feelings are sincerely [a] reconciled with me also."

11 Then he dismissed the assembly and ordered Polydamas [b] to be called. He was by far the dearest of Parmenion's friends, accustomed to stand by his side
12 in battle. And although, relying on a clear conscience, he had come into headquarters, yet when he was ordered to produce [c] his brothers, who were very young and unknown to the king because of their youth, his confidence changed to anxiety and he began to be afraid, considering more frequently what could harm them than by what means he could parry
13 such attacks.[d] And now the guards who had been ordered to do so had brought them in, when the king ordered Polydamas, deathly pale with fear, to draw nearer, and, removing all witnesses, said: "We have all alike been attacked by the crime of Parmenion, especially you and I, whom he has deceived by the
14 guise of friendship. To pursue and punish him—see how much I trust to your loyalty—I have decided to use you as my instrument. While you are doing
15 this, your brothers will be hostages. Set out for Media and take letters, written in my own handwriting, to my prefects. There is need of great speed, in order to outstrip the swiftness of rumour. I wish you to arrive there by night, and on the following
16 day to carry out what has been written. You will also take letters to Parmenion, one from me, the other written in the name of Philotas. The seal of his ring is in my possession. If his father believes that this was impressed by his son, he will fear nothing when he sees you."

17 Polydamas, relieved from so great fear, promised

quam exigebatur promittit operam conlaudatusque et promissis oneratus, deposita veste quam habebat
18 Arabica induitur. Duo[1] Arabes, quorum interim coniuges ac liberi, vinculum fidei, obsides apud regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta etiam ob siccitatem loca camelis undecimo die quo destinaverat per-
19 veniunt. Et priusquam ipsius[2] nuntiaretur adventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit et in tabernaculum Cleandri—praetor hic regius erat—
20 quarta vigilia pervenit. Redditis deinde litteris, constituerunt prima luce ad Parmenionem coire. Iamque[3] ceteris quoque litteras regis attulerat, iam ad eum venturi erant, cum Parmenioni Polydamanta
21 venisse nuntiaverunt. Qui dum laetatur adventu amici, simulque noscendi quae rex ageret avidus—quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistulam acceperat—Polydamanta requiri iubet.
22 Deversoria[4] regionis illius magnos recessus habent amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis ; ea praecipua
23 regum satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatiabatur in nemore Parmenion, medius inter duces quibus erat imperatum litteris regis ut occiderent. Agendae autem rei constituerant tempus, cum Parmenio a
24 Polydamante litteras traditas legere coepisset. Polydamas procul veniens, ut a Parmenione conspectus

[1] Duo *Lauer;* duc *P;* dux *C.*
[2] ipsius *Vindelinus;* ipsi *A.*
[3] Iamque *Hedicke;* namque *A.*
[4] Deversoria *Hedicke;* diversoria *A.*

his help even more earnestly than was demanded of him, and after being highly commended and loaded with promises, he put off the dress which he was
18 wearing and put on an Arab costume. Two Arabs, whose wives and children were meanwhile as a pledge of loyalty held as hostages with the king, were given him as companions. They arrived at the designated place on the eleventh day,[a] traversing on camels places which were even made desert by
19 dryness. And before his arrival could be reported, Polydamas again assumed Macedonian dress and went to the tent of Cleander—he was one of the
20 king's generals—in the fourth watch. Then, having delivered the letter, they decided to go together to Parmenion at daybreak. And now Polydamas had delivered the king's letters to the others as well, and already they were on the point of going to Parmenion, when it was announced to him that Poly-
21 damas had come. He, rejoicing in the arrival of his friend, and at the same time being eager to have news of what the king was doing—for he had received no letter from him for a long time—ordered that Polydamas be looked for.

22 The residences in that region[b] have extensive, charming, and secluded parks with groves artificially planted; these were the special delight of both kings
23 and satraps. Parmenion was walking about in a grove, surrounded by his officers, who had been ordered by the king's letters to kill him. And they had arranged to do the deed at the time when Parmenion had begun to read the letters delivered by Polydamas.
24 As Polydamas came near and was seen by Parmenion

[a] Remarkably quick time; in fact, incredibly so.
[b] *Cf.* Xen. *Oecon.* iv. 13.

est, vultu laetitiae speciem praeferente, ad complectendum eum cucurrit, mutuaque[1] salutatione[2] facta,[3] Polydamas epistulam a rege scriptam ei tradi-
25 dit. Parmenio vinculum epistulae solvens, quidnam rex ageret requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cognitu-
26 rum esse respondit. Quibus Parmenio lectis: "Rex," inquit, "expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et numquam cessantem! Sed tempus saluti suae, tanta iam parta gloria, parcere."
27 Alteram deinde epistulam Philotae nomine scriptam laetus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat; tum eius latus gladio haurit Cleander, deinde iugulum ferit, ceteri exanimum quoque confodiunt.
28 Et armigeri, qui ad primum aditum[4] nemoris adstiterant, cognita caede, cuius causa ignorabatur, in castra perveniunt et tumultuoso nuntio milites con-
29 citant. Illi armati ad nemus in quo perpetrata caedes erat coeunt et, ni Polydamas ceterique eiusdem noxae participes dedantur, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros denuntiant omniumque sanguine
30 duci parentaturos. Cleander primores eorum intromitti iubet litterasque regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiae Parmenionis in regem precesque, ut
31 ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. Igitur, cognita regis voluntate, non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis pluribus, pauci re-

[1] mutuaque *Lauer;* mutuata *C;* mutuatu *P.*
[2] salutatione *Hedicke;* gratulatione *A.*
[3] facta *Bentley;* functi *A.*
[4] qui . . . aditum *Hedicke;* quid aditum *P;* qui aditum *C.*

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[a] *Cf.* Nepos, *Paus.* iv. 1; Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 7. 7.
[b] See vii. 3. 4. [c] *Cf.* x. 4. 3.

to have an expression presenting the appearance of joy, he ran to embrace him, and after they had exchanged greetings, Polydamas handed him the letter
25 written to him by the king. Parmenion, as he loosed the fastening [a] of the letter, asked what the king was doing. Polydamas replied that he would learn from
26 the letter itself. Parmenion, after reading the letter, said: "The king is preparing an expedition against the Arachosii.[b] An active man, who never rests! But it is time for him to show consideration for his own welfare, after having already gained so much glory."
27 Afterwards he was reading the second letter, written in the name of Philotas, with pleasure, as could be seen from his expression; then Cleander plunged his sword into his side and struck him again in the throat, and the others stabbed him even after he was lifeless.
28 And the guards, who were posted at the entrance of the grove, on learning of the murder, the cause of which was unknown to them, came into the camp and aroused the soldiers with the alarming message.
29 They armed themselves and went in a body to the grove in which the murder had been committed, threatening that unless Polydamas and the rest who had shared in the same outrage [c] were delivered to them, they would throw down the wall surrounding the grove and offer expiation for the death of their
30 leader with the blood of all. Cleander ordered their leaders to be admitted, and read to the soldiers the letters which the king had written, in which were contained an account of the plots of Parmenion against the king and Alexander's prayers that they
31 should avenge him. Accordingly, when the wish of the king was known, the mutiny of the troops was checked, but nevertheless not their indignation.

manserunt, qui saltem ut corpus ipsis[1] sepelire per-
32 mitterent precabantur. Diu id negatum est Cleandri metu ne offenderet regem. Pertinacius deinde precantibus, materiem consternationis subtrahendam ratus, capite deciso truncum humare permisit; ad regem caput missum est.

33 Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiae domique clari viri. Multa sine rege prospere, rex sine illo nihil magnae rei gesserat. Felicissimo regi et omnia[2] ad fortunae suae exigenti modum satisfecit. LXX natus annos iuvenis ducis et saepe etiam gregarii militis munia explevit[3]; acer consilio, manu strenuus, carus
34 principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. Haec impulerint illum ad regni cupiditatem an tantum suspectum fecerint, ambigi potest, quia Philotas, ultimis cruciatibus victus, verane dixerit quae facta probari non poterant, an falsis tormentorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cum magis[4] posset liquere, dubitatum est.

35 Alexander, quos libere mortem Parmenionis conquestos esse compererat separandos a cetero exercitu ratus, in unam cohortem secrevit ducemque his Leonidam dedit, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam

[1] ipsis *Vogel;* ipsius *A.*
[2] et omnia *Lauer;* et ad omnia *A.*
[3] explevit *Freinshem;* explicuit *A.*
[4] magis *Lauer;* magnis *A.*

[a] The sketch of Parmenion's life is only general; the interest of later historians in Alexander, and the effort to exalt his exploits, made it difficult to give a fuller characterization; *cf.* Arr. iii. 26. 4.

[b] An unjustified statement; Curtius is more rhetorical than historically accurate.

[c] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 26. 4.

When many of them had slipped away, a few remained, who prayed that at least they might be per-
32 mitted by them to bury the body. This was for a long time refused through Cleander's fear that he might thus offend the king. Then, when they besought more persistently, thinking that occasion for disturbance ought to be removed, Cleander cut off the head and allowed them to bury the body; the head was sent to the king.

33 Such was the end of Parmenion,[a] a man illustrious in war and in peace. He had achieved many successes without the king, the king had done no great deed without him.[b] He satisfied a king who was most fortunate and who required that all things should match the greatness of his good fortune. At the age of seventy he fulfilled the duties of a leader in the prime of life and often even those of a common soldier; keen in counsel, vigorous in action, he was dear to the leading men and still more so to the common soldiers.

34 Whether these qualities[c] drove him to a desire for royal power, or merely made him suspected of such a design, may be doubted; for it was uncertain, even when the affair was recent and could more easily be made clear, whether Philotas, overcome by the violence of his tortures, told the truth about matters which could not be proved, or by a false confession sought an end to his torments.

35 Alexander, thinking[d] that those who, as he had learned, had freely deplored the death of Parmenion ought to be separated from the rest of the army, put them apart in one cohort and gave them as their leader Leonidas,[e] who had himself formerly

[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 80. 4; Justin xii. 5.
[e] Otherwise unknown.

intima familiaritate coniunctum. Fere idem erant quos alioqui rex habuerat invisos. Nam cum experiri vellet militum animos, admonuit qui litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset eis[1] quos ipse mittebat perlaturis[2] cum fide traderet. Simpliciter ad necessarios suos quisque scripserat quae sentiebat; aliis gravis erat, plerisque non ingrata militia. Ita et agentium gratias et querentium litterae exceptae sunt. Et, qui forte taedium laboris per litteras erant questi, hanc seorsus cohortem a ceteris tendere ignominiae causa iubet, fortitudine usurus in bello, libertatem linguae ab auribus credulis remoturus. Id consilium, temerarium forsitan—quippe fortissimi iuvenes contumelia[3] irritati erant—sicut omnia alia felicitas regis excepit. Nihil illis ad bella promptius fuit; incitabat virtutem et ignominiae demendae cupido et quia fortia facta in paucis latere non poterant.

III. His ita compositis, Alexander, Arsame Drangarum satrape constituto, iter pronuntiari iubet in Arimaspos,[4] quos iam tunc mutato nomine Euergetas appellabant, ex quo frigore victusque penuria Cyri exercitum affectum tectis et commeatibus iuverant. Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat. Cognoscit Satibarzanem,[5] qui ad Bessum defecerat,

[1] eis *Vindelinus;* si *A.*
[2] perlaturis *Vindelinus;* perlaturus *A.*
[3] contumelia *Modius;* contumelias *L m. pr. PV;* contumeliis *BFL m. sec.*
[4] Arimaspos *Wesseling;* armatos *A.*
[5] Satibarzanem *Aldus;* satibazanem *A.*

[a] " Benefactors "; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 81 and Arr. iii. 27. 4.

36 been an intimate friend of Parmenion. These were about the same as those whom he had for other reasons disliked. For once, when he wished to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he told them that if any had written letters to their people in Macedonia, he would hand them to the messengers whom he himself was sending, who would faithfully deliver them. Each man had written frankly to his relatives what he had thought; to some military service was burdensome, to most it was not disagreeable. In this way Alexander got hold of the letters of those who had written favourably and of those who complained.
37 And he ordered a cohort of those who chanced in their letters to have complained of the irksome military service to encamp apart from the rest by way of disgrace, saying that he would use their bravery in war, but would remove loose talking from credulous ears. This plan, perhaps rash—for the bravest of men had been irritated by the insult—like everything else, the
38 good fortune of the king made successful. Nothing was more enthusiastic for war than those men; their valour was enhanced both from the desire of wiping out disgrace, and because brave deeds could not be concealed among a few.

III. When these matters had been thus arranged, Alexander, having made Arsames satrap of the Drangae, ordered a march to be proclaimed against the Arimaspi, whom even at that time they called the Euergetae,[a] having changed their name from the time when they had aided with shelter and supplies the army of Cyrus, when it was almost worn out by
2 cold and lack of food. It was the fifth day since he had come into that region. He learned that Satibarzanes, who had revolted and gone over to Bessus,

cum equitum manu irrupisse rursus in Arios.[1] Itaque contra eum misit[2] Caranum et[3] Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico ; eos[4] VI milia Graecorum peditum,
3 DC equites sequebantur. Ipse LX diebus gentem Euergetarum ordinavit, magna pecunia ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donata.

4 Relicto deinde qui eis praeesset Amedine—scriba is Darei fuerat—Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus qui sub Parmenione fuerat occurrit. Sex milia Macedonum erant et CC nobiles et V milia Graecorum cum equitibus
5 DC, haud dubie robur omnium virium regis. Arachosiis datus Menon praetor, IIII milibus peditum et DC equitibus in praesidium relictis.

Ipse rex nationem ne finitimis quidem satis notam, quippe nullo commercio colentem[5] mutuos usus, cum
6 exercitu intravit. Parapanisadae[6] appellantur, agreste hominum genus et inter barbaros maxime inconditum. Locorum asperitas hominum quoque
7 ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum septentrionis axem ex magna parte spectant, Bactrianis ab occidente

[1] Arios *Acidalius;* alios *A.*
[2] contra eum misit *added by Hedicke.*
[3] et *added by Aldus.* [4] eos *Hedicke;* et *A.*
[5] colentem *Acidalius;* nolentem *C;* uolantem *P.*
[6] Parapanisadae *Hedicke;* paramedesidem *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* vii. 4. 32 ; Arr. iii. 28. 2.
[b] Arr. iii. 23. 9.
[c] That is, established a government among them.
[d] The last datable point was the death of Darius in July, 330 B.C. (Arr. iii. 22. 2).

with a force of cavalry had again invaded Aria. Therefore he sent against him Caranus [a] and Erigyius with Artabazus and Andronicus [b]; they were followed
3 by 6000 Greek infantry and 600 cavalry. He himself set in order [c] the race of the Euergetae within sixty days,[d] and gave them a great sum of money because of their splendid loyalty to Cyrus.

4 Then, after having left Amedines to govern them —he had been Darius' secretary—he subdued the Arachosii, whose territory extends to the Pontic Sea.[e] There he met the army which had been commanded by Parmenion. It consisted of 6000 Macedonians, 200 nobles, 5000 Greeks, with 600 cavalry, beyond
5 doubt the flower of all the king's forces.[f] Menon was made governor of the Arachosii, and 4000 infantry and 600 cavalry were left as a garrison.

The king himself with his army entered a nation not very well known even to their neighbours, since, having no commerce with them, they practised no
6 borrowed customs. They are called the Parapanisadae,[g] a rude race of men and especially uncultivated even among barbarians. The harshness of their climate had hardened the nature also of the inhabit-
7 ants. They look in great part toward the very cold northern pole,[h] on the west they are adjacent to the

[e] This, the Black Sea, is of course absurd. Warmington suggests that, by an error, *Ponticum* may have arisen from πόντος,=*mare* or perhaps ὠκεανός; hence "to the Red Sea," or "to the Indian Ocean." The Arachosii were in eastern Iran or Baluchistan.

[f] An exaggeration.

[g] Named from the mountain Parapanisus,=Hindu Kush.

[h] For this poetic term *cf.* Virg. *Aen.* viii. 26 ff.; Diod. xvii. 82. 2. The Pole Star is meant: it is the last star in the tail of Ursa Minor, which seems to stand still, while the rest of the heavens turn about it.

coniuncti sunt, meridiana regio ad mare Indicum
8 vergit. Tuguria latere crudo[1] struunt et, quia sterilis est terra materia, nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum aedificiorum fastigium eodem laterculo
9 utuntur. Ceterum structura latior ab imo paulatim incremento operis in artius cogitur, ad ultimum in carinae maxime modum coit. Ibi foramine relicto
10 superne lumen admittunt.[2] Vites et arbores, si quae in tanto terrae rigore durare potuerunt, obruunt penitus; hieme defossae[3] latent, cum discussa aperire
11 humum coepit, caelo solique redduntur. Ceterum adeo altae nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo paene rigore constrictae, ut ne avium quidem feraeve ullius vestigium exstet. Obscura caeli verius umbra quam lux, nocti similis, premit terram, vix ut quae
12 prope sunt conspici possint. In hac tum[4] omnis humani cultus solitudine destitutus exercitus, quidquid malorum tolerari potest pertulit, inopiam, frigus,
13 lassitudinem, desperationem. Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus nivis, multorum adussit pedes, plurimorum oculos. Praecipue perniciabilis fuit fatigatis; quippe in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant, quae cum moveri desissent, vis frigoris ita astringebat, ut rursus ad surgendum coniti,[5] non possent.
14 A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur, neque aliud remedium erat, quam ut ingredi cogerentur;

[1] crudo *Hedicke;* primo *A.*
[2] admittunt *Zumpt;* admedium *A.*
[3] defossae *Vindelinus;* defossa *A.*
[4] tum *Freinshem;* tamen *A.*
[5] coniti *Lauer;* contineri *A.*

Bactriani, on the south their territory slopes toward
8 the Indian sea. They build huts of unbaked brick, and
because the land is destitute of timber, since even the
ridge of the mountain is bare, they use the same
9 brick up to the very top of their buildings. But
their structure is broader at the base and gradually
becomes narrower as the work grows, and finally it
comes together very much like the keel of a ship.[a]
There they leave an opening and let in light from
10 above. Vines and trees, if any have been able to live
in such a rigorous climate, they bury deep in the
ground; in winter these remain dug in, and when
the end of winter begins to open the earth, they are
11 restored to the sky and to the sun. But such deep
snows cover the ground and are bound so fast by ice
and almost perpetual cold, that no trace is to be found
even of birds or of any wild beast. What may be
called a dim shadow of the sky rather than light, and
resembling night, broods over the earth, so that
objects which are near at hand can hardly be made
12 out. The army, then, abandoned in this absence of
all human civilization, endured all the evils that could
13 be suffered, want, cold, fatigue, despair. The unusual
cold of the snow caused the death of many, to many it
brought frost-bite of the feet, to very many blindness
of the eyes. It was especially harmful to those who
were fatigued; for when their strength gave out, they
stretched themselves on the very ice, and when they
ceased to move, the force of the cold so bound them
fast, that when they struggled to rise again, they could
14 not do so. But they were roused from their torpor
by their fellow-soldiers, for there was no other cure
than to be forced to go on; then only, when their

[a] See Sall. *Jug.* xviii. 4-5.

tum demum, vitali calore moto, membris aliquis redibat vigor.

15 Si qui tuguria barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter refecti sunt. Sed tanta caligo erat, ut aedificia
16 nulla alia res quam fumus ostenderet. Illi, numquam ante in terris suis advena viso, cum armatos repente conspicerent, exanimati metu, quidquid in tuguriis erat afferebant, ut corporibus ipsorum parceretur
17 orantes. Rex agmen circumibat pedes, iacentes quosdam erigens et alios, cum aegre sequerentur, adminiculo corporis sui excipiens. Nunc ad prima signa, nunc in medio,[1] nunc in ultimo agmine itineris multi-
18 plicato labore aderat. Tandem ad loca cultiora perventum est commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus ; simul et qui consequi non potuerant in illa castra venerunt.

19 Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cuius dorsum Asiam perpetuo iugo dividit ; hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit, illinc Caspium fretum et amnem[2] Araxen nobiliaque[3] regionis Scythicae[4]
20 deserta spectat. Taurus, secundae magnitudinis mons, committitur Caucaso ; a Cappadocia se attollens Ciliciam praeterit Armeniaeque montibus
21 iungitur. Sic inter se iuga velut serie cohaerentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiae omnia fere

[1] medio *I;* medium *A.* [2] et amnem] etiam nem *P.*
[3] nobiliaque *Hedicke;* et alia quae *P;* aliaque *C.*
[4] Scythicae *Hedicke;* schythiae *P;* scithiae *C.*

[a] Not what is to-day known as the Caucasus, but the Parapanisus, or Hindu Kush, which at first the Macedonians thought was the Caucasus. The Hindu Kush was also taken to be a part of a long transverse east-west ridge

natural warmth was aroused, did any strength return to their limbs.

15 If any could reach the huts of the barbarians, they were quickly restored. But such was the darkness that the only thing which revealed the buildings was
16 their smoke. When the natives, who had never before seen a stranger in their country, suddenly caught sight of armed men, they were paralysed with fear and brought them whatever they had in their
17 huts, begging them to spare their lives. The king went about on foot among his troops, lifting up some who were lying prostrate, and, by the aid of his body, supporting those who were following with difficulty. Now in the van, now in the centre, now at the rear of the army he was everywhere present with manifold
18 toil. At length they came to more cultivated places and the army was revived by an abundance of supplies; at the same time also those who had not been able to keep up came into the camp which they had pitched.

19 From there the army proceeded to the Caucasus mountains,[a] whose range divides Asia by a continuous ridge. It looks on one side to the sea which washes Cilicia, on the other to the Caspian Sea, the river Araxes, and the well-known deserts of the Scythian
20 region. Taurus, a mountain of second rank in height, joins the Caucasus; rising from Cappadocia, it passes by Cilicia, and unites itself with the Armenian moun-
21 tains. Thus the ranges, as if connected in a series, form a continuous chain, from which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some into the Red Sea,[b] others

stretching from the Mediterranean to the "eastern Ocean," and the whole ridge was often called Taurus.

[b] *i.e.* Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.

flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanium et Ponticum decidunt. xvii dierum
22 spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo x in circuitu stadia complectitur, iiii in altitudinem excedit, in qua[1] vinctum Promethea fuisse antiquitas
23 tradidit. Condendae in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est. vii milibus subactarum nationum[2] et praeterea militibus quorum opera uti desisset permissum in nova urbe considere. Hanc quoque Alexandream incolae appellaverunt.

IV. At Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus, dis patriis sacrificio rite facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello
2 consultabat. Graves mero suas vires extollere, hostium nunc temeritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere
3 incipiunt. Praecipue Bessus ferox verbis, et parto per scelus regno superbus ac vix potens mentis, dicere orditur: socordia Darei crevisse hostium famam.
4 Occurrisse enim in Ciliciae angustissimis faucibus, cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturae situ tuta,[3] tot fluminibus obiectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis ne fugae quidem, nedum resistendi occasionem fuerit habi-
5 turus. Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere; Oxum[4]

[1] qua *Vindelinus;* quo *A.*
[2] subactarum nationum *Hedicke;* seniorum macedonum *A.*
[3] situ tuta *Bentley;* sit aut *A.*
[4] Oxum *Lauer;* exum *A.*

[a] *i.e.* the Caspian and Black Seas.

into the Caspian, and still others into the Hyrcanian and Pontic.[a] The army passed over Caucasus
22 in a space of seventeen days. There is a crag in the mountain, embracing ten stadia in circumference and rising to four stadia in height, on which ancient
23 fable reports that Prometheus was chained. A site for founding a city was chosen at the foot of the mountain and seven thousand from the subdued nations were permitted to settle in the new city, as well as those soldiers whose services the king had ceased to make use of. This city also its inhabitants called Alexandria.

IV. But Bessus, greatly terrified by Alexander's speed, after having duly performed a sacrifice to the gods of the country, as is the custom with those nations, was feasting and holding council with his friends and with the leaders of his forces about the
2 war. Heavy with wine, they began to boast of their strength, and to express scorn, now of the rashness
3 of the enemy, now of their small numbers. In particular Bessus, in insolent language and so proud of a sovereignty gained by murder as hardly to be in his right mind, began by saying that the reputation of the enemy had increased through the incapacity
4 of Darius. For he had encountered them in the narrowest part of the passes of Cilicia, when by drawing back he might have taken them off their guard and led them into places which the nature of the country made safe, since so many rivers lay in the way and there were so many hiding-places in the mountains that if surprised among these the enemy would have had not even an opportunity for flight,
5 much less for resisting. That it was his intention to withdraw into the land of the Sogdiani; he would

amnem velut murum obiecturum hosti, dum ex
6 finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. Venturos autem Chorasmios et Dahas[1] Sacasque[2] et Indos et ultra Tanain amnem colentes Scythas ; quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri eius non possent Macedonis militis verticem aequare.
7 Conclamant temulenti unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse ; et Bessus circumferri merum largius
8 iubet, debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum. Erat in eo convivio Gobares,[3] natione Medus, sed magicae artis—si modo ars est, non vanissimi cuiusque ludibrium—magis professione quam scientia celeber,
9 alioqui moderatus et probus. Is cum praefatus esset, scire servo utilius esse parere dicto quam afferre consilium, cum illos qui pareant idem quod ceteros maneat, qui vero suadeant proprium subeant[4] periculum ; Bessus eum dicere iussit intrepidum,[5] pocu-
10 lum etiam, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto, Gobares : " Natura," inquit, " mortalium hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est quam in alieno.
11 Turbida sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent. Obstat metus, alias[6] cupiditas, nonnumquam naturalis eorum quae excogitaveris amor ; nam in te superbia non

[1] Dahas *Aldus;* deas *A.*
[2] Sacasque *J. Froben;* sagasque *A.*
[3] Gobares *Stangl;* cobares *A.*
[4] subeant *Hedicke;* sibi *A.*
[5] Bessus . . . intrepidum *added by Halm.*
[6] alias *Bentley;* aliis *A.*

[a] *i.e.* the Amu Darya.
[b] This is not the river (Don) which was generally known by that name, but the Iaxartes (Syr Darya).

oppose the Oxus[a] River like a wall to the enemy, until powerful auxiliaries should assemble from the
6 neighbouring nations; the Chorasmii would come to him and the Dahae and Sacae, and the Indians and the Scythians dwelling beyond the river Tanais,[b] not one of whom was so short of stature that he was not a head taller than a Macedonian soldier.
7 His drunken companions shouted in chorus that this plan alone was sound; and Bessus ordered wine to be served more abundantly, as if intending to
8 vanquish Alexander at the table. There was present at that banquet Gobares,[c] a Mede by nationality, but a dabbler in the art of magic—if only that is an art, and not the illusion of all the greatest liars —more celebrated in his pretension than in his actual knowledge, but in other respects modest and upright.
9 He, by way of preface, said that he knew that it was more expedient for a slave to obey orders than to offer counsel, since the same fate awaits those who obey which awaits the rest, but those who advise undergo a particular peril of their own.[d] Bessus bade him speak fearlessly and even handed him the cup which he had
10 been holding in his hand.[e] Having taken the cup, Gobares said: "The nature of mortal men may be called perverse and vicious under this head also, that each one is less keen-sighted in his own business than
11 in that of another. The counsels of those who advise themselves are confused. Fear opposes them, at another time their desire, sometimes the natural love of their own plans; for presumption does not apply to you. You have, in truth, learned by ex-

[c] The name is not certain.
[d] That is, the result is charged against them.
[e] As being the speaker.

cadit. Expertus es utique[1] quod ipse reppereris aut
12 solum aut optimum ducere. Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne ; hoc aut moderate perferendum est, aut, quod abominor, in te ruet. Consilio,
13 non impetu, opus est." Adicit deinde, quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant, canem timidum vehementius latrare quam mordere altissimaque[2] flumina minimo sono labi. Quae inserui, ut qualiscumque inter barbaros potuit esse prudentia traderetur.
14 Ille[3] his audientium expectationem suspenderat[4]; tum consilium aperit utilius Besso quam gratius. "In vestibulo," inquit, "regiae tuae velocissimus consistit rex ; ante ille agmen quam tu mensam
15 istam movebis. Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses et armis flumina oppones. Scilicet, qua tu fugiturus es hostis sequi non potest ! Iter utrique commune est, victori tutius. Licet strenuum metum putes
16 esse, velocior tamen spes est. Quin validioris occupas gratiam dedisque te, utcumque cesserit, meliorem
17 fortunam deditus quam hostis habiturus ?[5] Alienum habes regnum, quo facilius eo careas. Incipias[6] forsitan iustus esse rex, cum ipse fecerit, qui tibi et
18 dare potest regnum et eripere. Consilium habes fidele, quod diutius exsequi supervacuum est. Nobilis equus umbra quoque virgae regitur, ignavus ne

[1] utique *Hedicke;* utramque *A.*
[2] altissimaque *Hedicke;* altissima quaeque *A.*
[3] Ille *Hedicke, ed. min.;* in *A.*
[4] suspenderat *J. M. Palmer;* sui spem dederat *A.*
[5] habiturus *Lauer;* habituros *A.*
[6] Incipias *Hedicke;* incipiens *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* vii. 8. 14-16.
[b] *Cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 20. 3 ; Amm. xxi. 1. 2.
[c] *Cf.* Livy xxxvi. 22. 11 ; Quint. i. 5. 4.

perience to consider as the only or the best plan
12 whatever you yourself have devised. You sustain a great burden on your head, a kingly crown; this must either be borne with moderation or, which I pray the gods to avert, it will fall in ruins upon you. There is need of prudence, not of impetuosity."
13 Then he added a proverb in common use among the Bactriani, that a timid dog barks more violently than it bites, and that the deepest rivers flow with the least sound. This I have quoted, in order that whatever wisdom could exist among barbarians[a] might be recorded.
14 By these words Gobares had left in suspense the expectation of his hearers[b]; then he disclosed his advice, which was more expedient for Bessus than pleasing to him. "At the entrance[c] of your kingdom," said he, "stands the swiftest of kings; he will advance his army before you put away that table of yours.
15 Now you will summon an army from the Tanais, and you will oppose rivers to his arms. Of course the enemy cannot follow to whatever place you shall flee! The route is common to both, safer for the victor. Although you may think that fear is swift, yet hope
16 is more rapid. Why do you not hasten to gain the favour of the stronger and give yourself up, since however it may turn out, you will have better fortune in having surrendered than you will have as his
17 enemy? You are holding the kingdom of another, hence it will be easier to do without it. You would perhaps begin to be a legitimate king when he himself has made you one who can give you royal power, or
18 wrest it from you. You have faithful advice, which it would be superfluous to set forth at greater length. A noble horse is guided by the mere shadow of the

19 calcari quidem concitari potest." Bessus et ingenio et multo mero ferox, adeo exarsit ut vix[1] ab amicis quo minus occideret eum—nam strinxerat quoque acinacem—contineretur. Certe convivio prosiluit haudquaquam potens mentis. Gobares inter tumultum elapsus ad Alexandrum transfugit.

20 VIII milia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus. Quae quamdiu propter caeli intemperiem Indiam potius Macedonas petituros crediderant, oboedienter imperata fecerunt; postquam adventare Alexandrum compertum est, in suos quisque vicos dilapsi,

21 Bessum reliquerunt. Ille cum clientium manu, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo[2] amne superato, exustisque navigiis quibus transierat, ne isdem hostis uteretur, novas copias in Sogdianis contrahebat.

22 Alexander Causcasum quidem, ut supra dictum est, transierat, sed inopia frumenti quoque prope ad

23 famem ventum erat. Suco ex sesima[3] expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perunguebant, sed huius suci ducenis quadragenis denariis amphorae singulae, mellis denariis trecenis nonagenis, trecenis vini aestimabantur; tritici nihil aut admodum exiguum

24 reperiebatur. Siros vocabant barbari, quos ita sollerter abscondunt, ut nisi qui defoderunt invenire non possint; in his conditae fruges erant. In quarum penuria milites fluviatili pisce et herbis sustinebantur.

25 Iamque haec ipsa alimenta defecerant, cum iumenta

[1] vix *I;* vis *A*. [2] Oxo *Lauer;* mox *A*.
[3] sesima *Hedicke* (*perhaps* sesama, *Plin.* N.H. *xviii. 10. 22*); sesema *A*.

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. iii. 28. 8. [b] See vii. 3. 19, note.
[c] See Varro, *R.R.* i. 57. 2.

whip, a worthless one cannot be aroused even by
19 the spur." Bessus, headstrong by nature, and made still more so by much wine, so burned with anger that he was with difficulty restrained by his friends from killing the speaker—for he had even drawn his scimitar. At any rate, he leaped up from the banquet-table, quite beside himself. Gobares escaped amid the confusion and deserted to Alexander.
20 Bessus had 8000 [a] Bactriani under arms. These, so long as they believed that the Macedonians because of the rigour of the climate would be more likely to go to India, carried out his orders obediently; after they learned that Alexander was coming against them, they slipped away each to his own village and
21 deserted Bessus. He with a band of his clients who had not changed their allegiance passed over the river Oxus, and after burning the boats in which he had crossed, in order that the enemy might not use them, was levying fresh forces among the Sogdiani.
22 Alexander had crossed the Caucasus,[b] as was said above, but had almost been reduced to starvation
23 through lack of grain. With the juice pressed from sesame they anointed their bodies in lieu of oil, but each amphora of this juice was valued at 240 denarii, an amphora of honey at 390, and of wine at 300; of
24 wheat very little or nothing was found. For the barbarians had pits which they call *siri*,[c] which they conceal so skilfully, that only those who dug them can find them; in these their crops were stored away. In lack of these supplies the soldiers lived on fish from
25 the river and on herbs.[d] And now even these foods had failed them, whereupon they were ordered to

[d] Especially *silphium* (species of *Ferula* and Narthex); this shows that the march was made in the spring.

quibus onera portabant caedere iussi sunt ; horum carne, dum in Bactrianos perventum est,[1] traxere vitam.

26 Bactrianae terrae multiplex et varia natura est. Alibi multa arbor et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit, solum pingue crebri fontes rigant, quae mitiora sunt frumento conseruntur, cetera armentorum pabulo
27 cedunt. Magnam deinde partem eiusdem terrae steriles harenae tenent ; squalida siccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Cum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant, quidquid sabuli[2] in campis iacet converrunt ; quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia
28 intereunt. Itaque, qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo, noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt ; et propemodum clarior est noctis
29 umbra quam lux. Ergo interdiu invia[3] est regio, quia nec vestigium quod sequantur inveniunt et nitor siderum caligine absconditur. Ceterum si quos ille ventus qui a mari exoritur deprehendit, harena
30 obruit. Sed, qua mitior terra est, ingens hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur. Itaque Bactriani
31 equites xxx milia expleverant. Ipsa Bactra, regionis eius caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapaniso. Bactrus amnis praeterit moenia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen.

32 Hic regi stativa habenti nuntiatur ex Graecia

[1] est *added by Hedicke.*
[2] sabuli *Lauer;* pabuli *C;* paulo *P.*
[3] interdiu invia *Lauer;* interdium uia *P;* inde inuia *C.*

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[a] In the fruitful plains and on the lower slopes of the mountains.

[b] For this meaning *cf.* Amm. xxvi. 1. 10.

kill the pack-animals which carried their baggage; on the flesh of these they managed to exist until they reached the Bactriani.

26 The land of the Bactriani is of a manifold and varied nature. In one part many trees and vines produce plentiful and mellow fruits, frequent brooks irrigate the rich soil, the milder parts [a] of this they sow with grain, the rest they leave for pasture for the flocks.

27 Farther on a great part of the same land is occupied by sterile sands; because of its frightful [b] dryness the region is uninhabited and produces no fruit. Indeed, when the winds blow from the Pontic sea,[c] they sweep together whatever sand lies on the plains; when this is piled up, it looks from a distance like great hills, and all traces of the former road disappear.

28 Accordingly, those who cross the plains watch the stars and direct their course by them, as do those who sail the sea; and the shade of night is almost brighter

29 than daylight. Therefore the region is impassable in the daytime, because they find no traces to follow, and the light of the stars is hidden in darkness. Moreover, if the wind which arises from the sea overtakes

30 any, it buries them in the sand. But where the land is milder it breeds a great multitude of men and horses. Therefore the cavalry of the Bactriani had

31 amounted to 30,000. Bactra [d] itself, the capital of the region, is situated at the foot of Mount Parapanisus. The Bactrus River [e] flows at the foot of its walls. The river gave its name to the city and to the region.

32 While the king was holding a stationary camp

[a] He should have said the Caspian or the Indian Ocean. See page 145, note *e*.

[b] Modern Balkh.

[c] The Dehâs or Balkhâb; it diminishes in size until it nearly disappears.

Peloponnesiorum Laconumque defectio—nondum enim victi erant, cum proficiscerentur tumultus eius principia nuntiaturi—et alius praesens terror affertur, Scythas, qui ultra Tanaim amnem colunt, adventare Besso ferentis opem. Eodem tempore, quae in gente Ariorum[1] Caranus[2] et Erigyius gesserant perferuntur.
33 Commissum erat proelium inter Macedonas Ariosque. Transfuga Satibarzanes[3] barbaris praeerat; qui cum pugnam segnem utrimque aequis viribus stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit, demptaque galea inhibitis qui tela iaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare vellet, provocavit ad pugnam; nudum se caput in
34 certamine habiturum. Non tulit ferociam barbari ducis Erigyius,[4] gravis quidem aetate, sed et animi et corporis robore nulli iuvenum postferendus. Is galea dempta canitiem ostentans: "Venit," inquit, "dies, quo aut victoria aut morte honestissima quales
35 amicos et milites Alexander habeat ostendam." Nec plura elocutus equum in hostem egit.

Crederes imperatum ut acies utraeque tela cohiberent; protinus certe recesserunt dato libero spatio, intenti in eventum non ducum[5] modo, sed etiam suae
36 sortis, quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. Prior barbarus emisit hastam; quam Erigyius modica

[1] Ariorumque *Lauer;* arionum *A* (alionum *V*).
[2] Caranus *J. Froben;* cauranus *P;* caurarus *C.*
[3] Satibarzanes *Vindelinus;* sartibazes *A.*
[4] ducis Erigyius *Zumpt;* dux illius exercitus *A.*
[5] ducum *Freinshem;* duorum *A.*

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[a] Arr. iii. 29. 1 fills in the gap in the narrative.
[b] See Diod. xvii. 83. 5 f.; but *cf.* Arr. iii. 28. 3, who says nothing about a challenge.
[c] The plural *utraeque* is unusual, but *cf.* Livy xxxiii. 18. 12; xxxvi. 16. 10; etc.

there,[a] news came from Greece of the revolt of the Peloponnesians and the Laconians—for they had not yet been vanquished when those who were to report the beginnings of that uprising set forth—and another cause of alarm near at hand was reported, namely, that the Scythians who dwell beyond the river Tanais were coming and bringing aid to Bessus. At the same time news was brought of what Caranus and Erigyius
33 had accomplished in the land of the Arii. A battle had been fought between the Macedonians and the Arii. The traitor Satibarzanes commanded the barbarians; when he saw that the battle was almost at a standstill with the forces equal on both sides, he rode into the foremost ranks, and taking off his helmet and checking those who were hurling weapons, he challenged to battle anyone who wished to fight in single combat [b]; he said that he would fight bare-
34 headed. Erigyius, advanced in years, it is true, but in vigour of both mind and body not to be deemed inferior to any of the young men, could not endure the bravado of the barbarian. He, having taken off his helmet and displaying his white hair, said: "The time has come for me to show either by victory or by a glorious death what sort of friends and soldiers
35 Alexander has." Without more words he drove his horse against the foe.

You would believe that the order had been given for both [c] armies to cease fighting; certain it is that they at once drew back and left a free space, intent upon the fate, not only of the leaders, but their own also, since they were bound to share the outcome of
36 another's fight.[d] The barbarian was the first to hurl his spear. Erigyius avoided it by a slight movement

[d] That is, their own fight would not decide their fate.

capitis declinatione evitavit[1] atque ipse infestam sarisam,[2] equo calcaribus concitato, in medio barbari
37 gutture ita fixit, ut per cervicem emineret. Praecipitatus ex equo barbarus adhuc tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extractam e vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes manu complexus, quo maturius
38 interiret, ictum hostis adiuvit. Et barbari, duce amisso, quem magis necessitate quam sponte secuti erant, tunc haud immemores meritorum Alexandri
39 arma Erigyio tradunt. Rex his quidem laetus, de Spartanis haudquaquam[3] securus, magno tamen animo defectum eorum tulit, dicens non ante ausos consilia nudare quam ipsum ad fines Indiae pervenisse
40 cognossent. Ipse Bessum persequens copias movit; cui Erigyius barbari caput, opimum[4] belli decus, praeferens occurrit.

V. Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo tradita, sarcinas et impedimenta ibi cum praesidio relinquit, ipse cum expedito agmine loca deserta Sogdianorum[5]
2 intrat, nocturno itinere exercitum ducens. Aquarum, ut ante dictum est, penuria prius desperatione quam desiderio bibendi sitim accendit. Per cccc stadia ne
3 modicus quidem humor exsistit. Harenas vapor aestivi solis accendit; quae ubi flagrare coeperunt, haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torren-

[1] evitavit *I;* uitauit *A*.
[2] sarisam *Hedicke;* sarissam *C;* sarassam *P*.
[3] haudquaquam *Lauer;* haud quamquam *BFP;* haut q. *L;* aut q. *V*.
[4] barbari caput, opimum *Bentley;* barbaricae optimum *P;* barbarici optimum *C*.
[5] Sogdianorum *Glareanus;* susitanorum *A*.

[a] *Defectus* in this sense is very rare; *cf.* Capitol. *Opilius Macrinus* viii. 2.
[b] This was not true at the time when he said it.

of his head, and putting spurs to his horse, drove his lance straight into the middle of the barbarian's throat, so that it came out at the back of his neck. 37 The barbarian, though thrown from his horse, yet still continued to fight. But Erigyius, drawing the spear from the wound, directed it again at his face. Satibarzanes seized it with his hand, in order to die more 38 quickly, and aided the enemy's stroke. The barbarians, having lost their leader, whom they had followed rather on compulsion than voluntarily, and then not unmindful of the merits of Alexander, 39 surrendered to Erigyius. The king, rejoicing in this success, although by no means free from anxiety about the Spartans, yet bore their revolt [a] with great courage, saying that they had not dared to reveal their design until they knew that he had come to 40 the confines of India.[b] He himself moved his forces in pursuit of Bessus; Erigyius met him, displaying the head of the barbarian, as a glorious spoil of war.[c]

V. Therefore having entrusted the region of the Bactriani to Artabazus, he left there the packs and baggage with a garrison, and himself with a light-armed force entered the desert places of the Sogdiani 2 leading his army by night.[d] The scarcity of water, mentioned above,[e] sets up a burning thirst through despair of finding it, before it does so by desire for drinking. For 400 stadia not even a drop of water 3 is to be found. The heat of the summer sun makes the sands hot, and when they began to glow, everything is burned as if by a continuous conflagration.

[c] The language suggests the Roman *spolia opima*; see iii. 11. 7, note.

[d] To travel by night in summer is usual in Turkestan.

[e] vii. 4. 27.

4 tur. Caligo deinde, immodico terrae fervore excitata, lucem tegit, camporumque non alia quam vasti
5 et profundi aequoris species est. Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore et matutino frigore corpora levabantur. Ceterum cum ipsa luce aestus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem[1]
6 siccitas; ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primum animi, deinde corpora deficere coeperunt;
7 pigebat et consistere et progredi. Pauci, a peritis regionis admoniti, praeparaverant aquam; haec paulisper repressit sitim, deinde crescente aestu rursus desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergo, quidquid vini oleique erat omnibus[2] ingerebatur, tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis
6 non timeretur. Graves deinde avide hausto humore, non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant, et feliciores videbantur, quos aqua defecerat, cum ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogerentur egerere.

9 Anxium regem tantis malis circumfusi amici, ut meminisset orabant, animi sui magnitudinem unicum
10 remedium deficientis exercitus esse; cum ex eis qui praecesserant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, quos in eodem agmine esse et aegre pati sitim non ignora-
11 bant, succurrerent.[3] Qui cum in regem incidissent,

[1] absorbet humorem] arbor betum orem *P m. pr.;* a. b. morem *P corr.* [2] omnibus *Hedicke;* hominibus *A.*
[3] succurrerent *Heinse;* occurrerent *A.*

[a] To judge from his description, Curtius must have seen such mirages or learned of them from authentic sources.

4 Then too a mist, aroused by the excessive warmth of the ground, obscures the light, and the aspect of the plain is not unlike that of a vast and deep sea.[a] 5 By night the march seemed endurable, since their bodies were relieved by the dew and by the early morning coolness.[b] But with the very daylight the heat returns, and dryness consumes all their natural moisture; mouths and innermost vitals are 6 parched. As a result, first their courage and then their strength began to give out, they were reluc- 7 tant either to stand still or to go on. A few, advised by those who knew the region, had provided themselves with water beforehand; this for a time appeased their thirst, then, as the heat increased, the desire for water was kindled again. Therefore what wine and oil there was was lavished upon all, and so great was the pleasure of drinking, that they 8 did not fear thirst for the future. Later, heavy from drinking greedily, they could not carry their arms nor march, and those seemed more fortunate who had had nothing to drink, since those who had were forced to get rid of by vomiting up what they had poured down without moderation.

9 The king, worried by such troubles, was surrounded by his friends, who begged him to remember that the greatness of his own courage was the sole remedy for 10 the weakness of the army; when two of those who had gone ahead to choose a place for a camp met them, bringing water in skins, in order to aid their sons who were in that same army and whom they 11 knew to be suffering severely from thirst. When they met Alexander, one of them opened one of the

[b] In the sandy desert there is a great fall of temperature at night, from 100° to 70° or 60°.

alter ex his, utre resoluto, vas, quod simul ferebat, implet, porrigens regi. Ille accipit; percontatus
12 quibus aquam portaret, filiis ferre cognoscit. Tunc poculo pleno, sicut oblatum est, reddito: "Nec solus," inquit, "bibere sustineo nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum; vos currite et liberis vestris quod propter illos attulistis date."
13 Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit prima fere vespera. Sed exercitus magna pars non potuerat consequi; in edito monte ignes iubet fieri, ut ei qui aegre sequebantur haud procul castris ipsos abesse
14 cognoscerent, eos autem qui primi agminis erant, mature cibo ac potione firmatos, implere alios utres, alios vasa, quibuscumque aqua portari posset, ac suis
15 opem ferre. Sed qui intemperantius hauserant, intercluso spiritu exstincti sunt, multoque maior
16 horum numerus fuit quam ullo amiserat proelio. At ille thoracem adhuc indutus, nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, qua veniebat exercitus constitit nec ante ad curandum corpus recessit quam praeterierat omne[1] agmen, totamque eam noctem cum magno animi
17 motu perpetuis vigiliis egit. Nec postero die laetior erat, quia nec navigia habebat nec pons erigi poterat, terra circum[2] amnem nuda[3] et materia maxime sterili. Consilium igitur quod unum necessitas subiecerat init.
18 Utres quam plurimos stramentis refertos dividit; his

[1] praeterierat omne *Hedicke;* praeterierant qui *A.*
[2] terra circum *Hedicke;* circum *A.*
[3] nuda *Hedicke;* nudo *A.*

[a] This story is told by others for other occasions, the pursuit of Darius, the march through Cedrosia, etc.; Frontinus, *Strat.* i. 7. 7, lays its scene in Africa.

skins, filled a cup which he was carrying with him, and offered it to the king. He took it; then, having asked for whom he was bringing the water, he learned
12 that he was bringing it for his sons. Thereupon, returning the full cup, just as it had been offered to him, the king said: "I cannot endure to drink alone, and I cannot distribute so little among all; do you hasten and give to your children what you have brought for them." [a]
13 At length Alexander came to the river Oxus at about sunset. But the great part of the army had been unable to keep up with him; hence he ordered fires to be lighted on a high hill, in order that those who were following with difficulty might know that
14 they were not far from the camp, but that of those who were in the front of the army, after speedily refreshing themselves with food and drink, some should fill skins, others whatever other vessels could
15 hold water, and bring aid to his men. But those who had drunk too intemperately, had a choking fit [b] and died, and the number of these was much greater
16 than the king had lost in any battle. But he, still wearing his cuirass and refreshed neither with food nor drink, stood on the road by which the army was coming, nor did he retire to refresh himself until the whole army had passed by, and he spent that whole
17 night without sleep in great trouble of mind. Nor was he more cheerful on the following day, because he had no boats, nor could a bridge be set up, since all the land around the river was bare and especially lacking in timber. Therefore he adopted the only
18 expedient that necessity had suggested; he distributed as many skins stuffed with straw as possible;

[b] *Cf.* iii. 6. 13.

incubantes transnavere amnem, quique primi transierant in statione erant, dum traicerent ceteri. Hoc modo sexto demum die in ulteriore ripa totum exercitum exposuit.

19 Iamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, cum ea quae in Sogdianis[1] evenerant[2] cognoscit. Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos praecipuo[3] 20 honore cultus a Besso; sed nullis meritis perfidia mitigari potest, quae tamen iam minus in eo invisa esse poterat, quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, interfectorem regis sui, videbatur. Titulus facinori[4] speciosus praeferebatur, vindicta Darei, sed for- 21 tunam, non scelus oderat[5] Bessi. Namque ut Alexandrum flumen Oxum superasse cognovit, Dataphernem et Catanen,[6] quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur, in societatem cogitatae rei asciscit. Illi promptius annuunt[7] quam rogabantur, assumptisque VIII fortissimis iuvenibus, talem dolum intendunt. 22 Spitamenes pergit ad Bessum et remotis arbitris comperisse ait se, insidiari ei Dataphernen et Catanen, ut vivum Alexandro traderent; agitantes a semet occupatos esse et vinctos teneri.

23 Bessus, tanto merito, ut credebat, obligatus, partim gratias agit, partim avidus expetendi[8] supplicii ad- 24 duci eos iubet. Illi, manibus sua sponte religatis, a participibus consilii trahebantur; quos Bessus truci

[1] Sogdianis *Freinshem;* susianis *A.*
[2] evenerant *Hedicke;* erant *A.*
[3] praecipuo *B corr. L corr. V corr.;* praecipue *A.*
[4] facinori *Acidalius;* facinoris *A.*
[5] oderat *Acidalius;* oderant *C;* oderan *P.*
[6] Catanen *Kinch;* catenen *P;* catenem *C.*
[7] adnuunt *Jeep;* addunt *A.*
[8] expetendi *Vogel:* explendi *A.*

lying upon these, they swam[a] across the river, and those who had crossed first remained on guard until the rest had passed over. In this way he brought his whole army on the farther bank after five days.

19 And now he had decided to go on in pursuit of Bessus, when he learned what had happened in the country of the Sogdiani. Spitamenes was most
20 highly honoured by Bessus among all his friends, but treachery cannot be tamed by any services, a thing which nevertheless might have been less odious in his case, since it seemed that no wrong could be done by anyone to Bessus, the murderer of his king. A specious pretext for his crime was offered, namely, the avenging of Darius, but it was the fortune, not the evil
21 deed, of Bessus that he hated. For when he learned that Alexander had crossed the river Oxus, he enrolled Dataphernes and Catanes, in whom Bessus had the greatest confidence, as accomplices in the conspiracy which he had planned. They consented more promptly than they were asked, and taking with them eight very strong young men, they laid the
22 following snare. Spitamenes went to Bessus and in a private conference said that he had learned that Dataphernes and Catanes were plotting against him, in order to deliver him alive to Alexander ; that he had anticipated their conspiracy and was holding them in fetters.

23 Bessus, under obligation for this great service, as he thought it, both thanked them and, eager to inflict punishment, ordered the two men to be brought
24 to him. They, with their arms voluntarily bound, were dragged in by the accomplices in the plot ; Bessus, gazing fiercely at them, arose, evidently unable to

[a] See Arrian iii. 29. 3-4.

vultu intuens, consurgit, manibus non temperaturus. Atque illi simulatione omissa circumsistunt eum et frustra repugnantem vinciunt, derepto[1] ex capite regni insigni[2] laceratagque veste, quam e spoliis occisi
25 regis induerat. Ille deos sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus, adiecit non Dareo iniquos fuisse quem sic ulciscerentur, sed Alexandro propitios, cuius[3] vic-
26 toriam semper etiam hostes adiuvissent. Multitudo an vindicatura Bessum fuerit incertum est, nisi illi qui vinxerant iussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti, dubios adhuc animi terruissent. In equum impositum Alexandro traditurum ducunt.

27 Inter haec rex, quibus matura erat missio electis nongentis fere, bina talenta equiti dedit, pediti terna[4] denarium milia, monitosque ut liberos generarent, remisit domum. Ceteris gratiae actae, quod ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur.

28 Dum Bessum persequitur,[5] perventum erat in parvulum oppidum. Branchidae[6] eius incolae erant; Mileto quondam iussu Xerxis, cum e Graecia rediret, transierant et in ea sede constiterant, quia templum[7]

[1] derepto *Wakefield;* direpto *A.*
[2] insigni *Lauer;* insigne *A.*
[3] cuius *Giunta;* insecutos *A.*
[4] terna *J. Froben;* ter *A.*
[5] dum Bessum persequitur *Hedicke;* dum bessus perducitur *P;* tum Bessum perducitur *C.*
[6] Branchidae *J. Froben;* brancidae *A.*
[7] templum *Lauer;* templa *A.*

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[a] According to Ptolemy in Arr. iii. 30. 1-2, Spitamenes and Dataphernes lost their courage, and Bessus fell into the hands of those whom Alexander had sent.

[b] According to Aristobulus (Arr. *l.c.*), the conspirators delivered him to Ptolemy.

refrain from laying hands upon them. Then they, laying aside pretence, surrounded him, and in spite of his vain attempts at resistance bound him, tearing from his head the royal tiara and rending the clothes which he had put on from the spoils of the murdered
25 king. Bessus, confessing that the gods had come as avengers of his crime, added that they had not been unfavourable to Darius, whom they thus avenged, but propitious to Alexander, since even his enemies
26 always aided his victory. Whether the populace would have rescued Bessus is uncertain, had not those who had bound him, by falsely saying that they had done so by order of Alexander,[a] terrified them while their minds were still wavering. The conspirators placed him on a horse and took him to be delivered to Alexander.[b]

27 Meanwhile [c] the king, having selected about 900 of those whose discharge was due, gave two talents to each of the cavalry and to each of the infantry 3000 denarii, and sent them home after exhorting them to beget children. To the rest he gave thanks, because they promised to render good service for the remainder of the war.

28 While the king was pursuing Bessus, they arrived at a little town. It was inhabited by the Branchidae [d]; they had in former days migrated from Miletus by order of Xerxes, when he was returning from Greece, and had settled in that place, because to gratify

[c] According to Arr. iii. 29. 5, it was before crossing the Oxus.

[d] See Amm. xxix. 1. 31, note; Strabo xi. 11. 4. Their oracle was on the foothill Posidion, twenty stadia from the shore, and 180 from Miletus: see also Hdt. vi. 19. The story of Alexander's savage act is discredited by many modern scholars.

quod Didymeon[1] appellatur in gratiam Xerxis viola-
29 verant. Mores patrii nondum exoleverant, sed iam bilingues erant, paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres. Magno igitur gaudio regem excipiunt, urbem seque dedentes. Ille Milesios qui
30 apud ipsum militarent convocari iubet. Vetus odium Milesii gerebant[2] in Branchidarum gentem. Proditis ergo sive iniuriae sive originis meminisse mallent,
31 liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. Variantibus deinde sententiis, se ipsum consideraturum quid optimum factu esset ostendit.

Postero die occurrentibus Branchidis[3] secum procedere iubet, cumque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse
32 cum expedita manu portam intrat; phalanx moenia oppidi circumire iussa et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, ipsosque ad unum caedere.
33 Illi inermes passim trucidantur, nec aut commercio linguae aut supplicum[4] velamentis precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest. Tandem, ut deicerent, fundamenta murorum ab imo moliuntur, ne quod
34 urbis vestigium extaret. Nemora[5] quoque et lucos sacros non caedunt modo, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus, exustis[6] etiam radici-
35 bus, linqueretur. Quae si in ipsos proditionis auctores

[1] Didymeon *Freinshem;* didimaon *A.*
[2] Milesii gerebant *Freinshem;* miles gerebant *P;* miles gerebat *C.*
[3] Branchidis *Madvig;* brachiadas *A* (barchiadas *L*).
[4] supplicum *J. Froben;* supplicio cum *A.*
[5] Nemora *Acidalius;* nec mora *A.*
[6] exustis *Hedicke;* excussis *A.*

[a] Of Apollo, near Miletus.
[b] *Cf.* Livy xxiv. 30. 14; xxv. 25. 6.

Xerxes they had violated the temple[a] which is
29 called the Didymeon. They had not ceased to follow the customs of their native land, but they were already bilingual, having gradually degenerated from their original language through the influence of a foreign tongue. Therefore they received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their city and themselves. He ordered the Milesians who were serving
30 with him to be called together. They cherished a hatred of long standing against the race of the Branchidae. Therefore the king allowed to those who had been betrayed free discretion as to the Branchidae, whether they preferred to remember
31 the injury or their common origin. Then, since their opinions varied, he made known to them that he himself would consider what was best to be done.

On the following day when the Branchidae met him, he ordered them to come along with him, and when they had reached the city, he himself entered
32 the gate with a light-armed company; the phalanx he ordered to surround the walls of the town and at a given signal to pillage the city, which was a haunt of traitors, and to kill the inhabitants to a man.
33 The unarmed wretches were butchered everywhere, and the cruelty could not be checked either by community of language or by the draped olive branches[b] and prayers of the suppliants. At last, in order that the walls might be thrown down, their foundations were undermined, so that no vestige of the city might
34 survive. As for their woods also and their sacred groves, they not only cut them down, but even pulled out the stumps, to the end that, since even the roots were burned out, nothing but a desert waste
35 and sterile ground might be left. If this had been

excogitata essent, iusta ultio esse, non crudelitas videretur; nunc culpam maiorum posteri luere, qui ne viderant quidem Miletum, adeo[1] et Xerxi non potuerant prodere.

36 Inde processit ad Tanain amnem. Quo perductus est Bessus non vinctus modo, sed etiam omni velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes eum tenebat collo inserta catena, tam barbaris quam Macedonibus
37 gratum spectaculum. Tum Spitamenes: "Et te," inquit, "et Dareum, reges meos, ultus, interfectorem domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, cuius ipse fecit exemplum. Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Dareus! exsistat ab inferis, qui illo supplicio indignus
38 fuit et hoc solacio dignus est!" Alexander, multum collaudato Spitamene, conversus ad Bessum: "Cuius," inquit, "ferae rabies occupavit animum tuum, cum regem de te optime meritum prius vincire, deinde occidere sustinuisti? Sed huius parricidii mercedem falso regis nomine persolvisti tibi."[2]
39 Ille facinus purgare non ausus regis titulum se usurpare dixit, ut gentem suam tradere ipsi posset; quippe,[3] si cessasset, alium fuisse regnum occupaturum.

40 Et Alexander Oxathren,[4] fratrem Darei, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius iussit accedere tradique Bessum ei, ut cruci affixum, mutilatis auribus naribusque, sagittis configerent barbari

[1] adeo *J. Froben;* ideo *A.* [2] tibi *Acidalius;* ibi *A.*
[3] quippe *Hedicke;* qui *A.*
[4] Oxathren *Snakenburg;* oxathen *P;* oxaten *C.*

[a] *Cf.* Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 557 B.

[b] Here, as often before and later, the Iaxartes (Syr Darya) is meant. The order of events differs from that of Arr. iii. 30. 6, who seems to be right.

designed against the actual authors of the treason, it would seem to have been a just vengeance and not cruelty; as it was, their descendants [a] expiated the guilt of their forefathers, although they themselves had never seen Miletus, and so could not have betrayed it to Xerxes.

36 Then Alexander advanced to the river Tanais.[b] Thither Bessus was brought, not only bound, but stripped of all his clothing. Spitamenes held him with a chain [c] placed about his neck, a sight as pleas-
37 ing to the barbarians as to the Macedonians. Then Spitamenes said: "Avenging both you and Darius, my kings, I have brought you the slayer of his lord, captured in the manner of which he himself set the example. Would that Darius might open his eyes to behold the spectacle. Would that he might rise from the lower world, since he did not deserve such a
38 fate and merits this consolation." Alexander, after having highly praised Spitamenes, turned to Bessus and said: "Of what wild beast did the frenzy enter your mind when you had the heart, first to bind, and then to kill the king who was your greatest benefactor? But the reward for this parricide you have
39 paid yourself by the false name of king." Bessus, not daring to deny his crime, said that he had used the title of king in order that he might be able to hand over his nation to him; for if he had delayed, another would have seized the rule.

40 But Alexander ordered Oxathres, the brother of Darius, whom he had among his body-guard, to come nearer, and that Bessus be delivered to him, in order that, bound to a cross after his ears and his nose had been cut off, the barbarians might pierce him with

[c] Arr. iii. 30. 3-5.

asservarentque corpus, ut ne aves quidem contin-
41 gerent. Oxathres cetera sibi curae fore pollicetur ; aves non ab alio quam a Catane[1] posse prohiberi adicit, eximiam eius artem cupiens ostendere ; namque adeo certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque
42 exciperet. Nunc[2] forsitan, sagittarum[3] celebri usu, minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit ; tum ingens visentibus miraculum magnoque honori Catani fuit.
43 Dona deinde omnibus qui Bessum adduxerant data sunt. Ceterum supplicium eius distulit, ut eo loco ipso, quo Dareum ipse occiderat, necaretur.

VI. Interea Macedones, ad petendum pabulum incomposito agmine egressi, a barbaris, qui de proximis montibus decurrerunt, opprimuntur pluresque
2 capti sunt quam occisi ; barbari autem captivos prae se agentes rursus in montem recesserunt. xx milia latronum erant ; fundis sagittisque pugnam invadunt.
3 Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagitta ictus est, quae in medio crure fixa reliquerat
4 spiculum. Illum quidem maesti et attoniti Macedones in castra referebant, sed nec barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie—quippe ex edito monte cuncta
5 prospexerant—; itaque postero die misere legatos ad regem. Quos ille protinus iussit admitti, solutisque fasciis, magnitudinem vulneris dissimulans, crus bar-
6 baris ostendit. Illi iussi considere affirmant non

[1] Catane *Kinch;* catene *A.*
[2] Nunc *Bentley;* nam *P;* namsi *C.*
[3] sagittarum *Hedicke;* sagittis tam *A.*

[a] Apparently he shot them on the wing.
[b] See Arr. iii. 30. 11 ; Plut. *De Fort. Alex.* i. p. 327 B ; *Alex.* xlv. 3.
[c] This is not mentioned by Arrian, and does not suit the character of the Sogdiani. It is apparently one of the romantic additions of later writers.

arrows and so guard his body that not even the birds
41 could touch it. Oxathres answered that he would take care of the rest; he added that the birds could not be kept off by anyone else than Catanes, desiring to show the man's remarkable skill; for he struck his mark with so sure an aim that he even brought down [a]
42 birds. Nowadays perhaps, when the use of arrows is frequent, such skill may seem less wonderful, but at that time it was a great wonder to those who saw it
43 and gained Catanes great repute. Gifts were given to all who had brought in Bessus. But Alexander postponed his execution, in order that he might be slain in that very place where he had killed Darius.

VI. Meanwhile some of the Macedonians, who had gone forth in a disorderly band to forage, were fallen upon by the barbarians, who rushed down from the mountains near by, and more were captured than
2 were killed; but the barbarians, driving their prisoners before them, withdrew again to the mountains. The brigands numbered 20,000, and they
3 entered battle with slings and arrows. While the king was besieging them, as he fought among the foremost he was struck by an arrow, which had left its
4 point fixed in the middle of his leg.[b] The sorrowing and amazed Macedonians carried him back into the camp, but it did not escape the barbarians that the king had been carried from the field—for from their lofty mountain they had seen everything
5 —and so on the following day they sent envoys to the king.[c] He at once ordered them to be admitted, and taking off the bandages, but concealing the severity of the wound, showed his leg to the barbarians.
6 The envoys, when bidden to be seated, declared that

Macedonas quam ipsos tristiores fuisse cognito vulnere ipsius ; cuius si auctorem repperissent, dedituros fuisse ; cum dis enim pugnare sacrilegos tantum.
7 Ceterum se gentem in fidem dedere, superatos vulnere illius. Rex, fide data et captivis receptis,
8 gentem in deditionem accepit. Castris inde motis, lectica militari ferebatur. Quam pro se quisque eques pedesque subire certabant ; equites, cum quibus rex proelia inire solitus erat, sui muneris id esse censebant, pedites contra, cum saucios commilitones ipsi[1] gestare assuevissent,[2] eripi sibi proprium officium tum potissimum, cum rex gestandus esset, quereban-
9 tur. Rex in tanto utriusque partis certamine et sibi difficilem et praeteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus, invicem subire eos iussit.
10 Hinc quarto die ad urbem Maracanda[3] perventum est ; LXX stadia murus urbis amplectitur, arx alio[4] cingitur muro. Mille praesidio urbis relictis, proximos vicos depopulatur atque urit.
11 Legati deinde Abiorum[5] Scytharum superveniunt, liberi ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. Iustissimos barbarorum constabat ; armis abstinebant nisi lacessiti, libertatis modico et aequali usu

[1] ipsi *J. Froben;* ipse *A.*
[2] adsuevissent *J. Froben;* adsueuisset *A.*
[3] Maracanda *J. Froben;* marupenta *A.*
[4] alio *Heinse;* illinc *A.*
[5] Abiorum *Freinshem;* aulorum *A.*

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[a] Samarcand.
[b] See Arr. iv. 5. 1 ; Amm. xxiii. 6. 53 ; *Iliad* xiii. 6.

the Macedonians had not been more sorrowful than they themselves on hearing of the wound ; that if they could have discovered who had inflicted it, they would have given him up ; for that only the impious
7 warred with the gods. Furthermore, they said, that overcome by his wound, they surrendered their race into his protection. The king, having pledged his faith and recovered his men who had been taken
8 prisoner, received the race in surrender. Then camp was broken and he was carried in a soldier's litter. All the cavalry and the infantry vied with one another as to who should carry it ; the cavalry, with whom the king had been wont to enter battle, thought that it was a part of their privilege, the infantry on the other hand, since they themselves had been accustomed to carry their injured comrades, complained that their proper duty was being taken from them just at the
9 very time when the king had to be carried. Alexander, in so great a contention between the two parts of the army thinking that a choice would be difficult for him and displeasing to those who were passed over, ordered them to carry him by turns.

10 From there on the fourth day they came to the city of Maracanda [a] ; this city is begirt by a wall of seventy stadia, and the citadel is enclosed by another wall. Having left 1000 men as a guard of the city, he ravaged and burned the neighbouring villages.

11 Then envoys of the Abii, who are Scythians,[b] arrived, who had been free since the death of Cyrus and were then ready to submit to Alexander. They were commonly regarded as the most just of the barbarians ; they abstained from warfare except in self-defence, and because of their moderate and impartial practice of freedom they had made the

12 principibus humiliores pares fecerant. Hos benigne allocutus, ad eos Scythas qui Europam incolunt Derdam[1] quendam misit ex amicis, qui denuntiaret his, ne Tanain amnem iniussu regis transirent. Eidem mandatum, ut contemplaretur locorum situm et illos quoque Scythas qui super Bosphorum colunt[2] viseret.
13 Condendae urbi sedem super ripam Tanais elegerat, claustrum et iam perdomitorum et quot[3] deinde adire decreverat; sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nun-
14 tiata defectio, quae Bactrianos quoque traxit. VII milia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem ceteri sequebantur.

Alexander Spitamenen[4] et Catanen, a quibus ei traditus[5] erat Bessus, haud dubius quin eorum opera redigi possent in potestatem, coercendo[6] qui novave-
15 rant res, iussit accersi. At illi, defectionis ad quam coercendam evocabantur auctores, vulgaverant fama Bactrianos equites a rege omnes, ut occiderentur, accersi, idque imperatum ipsis non sustinuisse tamen exsequi, ne inexpiabile in populares facinus admitterent. Non magis Alexandri saevitiam quam Bessi parricidium ferre potuisse. Itaque sua sponte iam motos metu poenae haud difficulter ad arma concitaverunt.

[1] Derdam *Hedicke;* pendam *A.*
[2] Bosphorum colunt *Acidalius;* bosphoro incolunt *P;* bosforo incolunt *C.*
[3] quot *Hedicke;* quod *A.*
[4] Spitamenen *Snakenburg;* spitamen *A.*
[5] ei traditus *Lauer;* et traditus *C* (traditus *F m. pr.*); et raditus *P.*
[6] coercendo *added by Freinshem;* cohercendo *C.*

[a] Really the Iaxartes (Syr Darya), which is confused with the real Tanais (the Don).

12 humblest equal to the chief men. Having addressed them courteously, Alexander sent one of his friends, Derdas, to those Scythians who dwell in Europe; he was to command them not to cross the Tanais [a] river without the king's order. He charged the same messengers to reconnoitre the country and to visit those Scythians also who dwell above [b] the Bosphorus.
13 He had chosen a site for founding a city on the bank of the Tanais,[c] as a barrier both to those who had already been subdued and to those whom he had decided to attack later; but his design was put off by the reported revolt of the Sogdiani, which also
14 involved the Bactriani. These consisted of 7000 cavalry, whose authority the rest followed.

Alexander ordered Spitamenes and Catanes to be summoned, by whom Bessus had been delivered to him, not doubting that by their aid they [d] could be reduced into his power by the suppression of those
15 who had stirred up a revolt. But they, being the ringleaders of the revolt to the suppression of which they were summoned, had spread abroad the report that all the Bactrian cavalry were being sent for by the king, in order that they might be slain, but that they however could not bring themselves to execute this order which had been given them, for fear of committing an inexpiable crime against their countrymen. That they had been no more able to endure the savage cruelty of Alexander than the parricide of Bessus. Therefore they aroused to arms without difficulty those who were already of their own accord alarmed by fear of punishment.

[b] That is, east and north of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.
[c] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 1. 3; apparently Khojend on the Iaxartes.
[d] *i.e.* the Sogdiani and the Bactriani.

16 Alexander, transfugarum defectione comperta, Craterum obsidere Cyropolim iubet; ipse aliam urbem regionis eiusdem corona capit, signoque ut puberes interficerentur dato, reliqui in praedam cessere victoris. Urbs diruta est, ut ceteri cladis
17 eius exemplo continerentur. Memaceni, valida gens, obsidionem non ut honestiorem modo, sed etiam ut tutiorem ferre decreverant; ad quorum pertinaciam mitigandam rex L equites praemisit, qui clementiam ipsius in deditos simulque inexorabilem animum in
18 devictos ostenderent. Illi nec de fide nec de clementia[1] regis ipsos dubitare respondent equitesque tendere extra munimenta urbis iubent; hospitaliter deinde exceptos gravesque epulis et somno, intem-
19 pesta nocte adorti interfecerunt. Alexander haud secus quam par erat motus, urbem corona circumdedit, munitiorem quam ut primo impetu capi posset. Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccan in obsidionem iungit; ipse ad Craterum[2] pergit, Cyropolim, ut ante dictum est, obsidentem.[3]

20 Statuerat autem parcere urbi conditae a Cyro; quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est quam hunc regem et Samiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse
21 credebat. Ceterum pertinacia oppidanorum iram eius accendit; itaque captam urbem diripi iussit.

[1] clementia *Modius;* clementiā *P m. pr.;* potentia *C* (potentiā *F*).
[2] ipse . . . Craterum *added by Hedicke.*
[3] obsidentem *Mützell;* obsidentes *A.*

[a] Nothing is known of these or of the variant Nenaceni.
[b] *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 18 (49).

16 Alexander, on learning of the rebellion of the deserters, ordered Craterus to besiege Cyropolis; he himself took another city of the same region by circumvallation, and when the order had been given that all the men fit for service should be killed, the rest became booty for the victor. The city was razed, in order that the rest might be held to their allegiance
17 by the example of its destruction. The Memaceni,[a] a powerful race, had decided to stand a siege, as not only more honourable, but also as safer; to tame their obstinacy, the king sent ahead fifty horsemen, to make known to them his clemency towards those who surrendered and his inexorable spirit towards
18 the vanquished. They replied that they did not doubt the good faith and clemency of the king and ordered the horsemen to encamp outside the fortifications of the city; then, having entertained them hospitably, they attacked them in the dead of night, when they were heavy with feasting and sleep,
19 and slew them. Alexander, incensed as was quite natural, surrounded the city with a line of troops, since it was too well fortified to be taken at the first assault. Therefore he united Meleager and Perdiccas in its siege, and he himself rejoined Craterus, who was besieging Cyropolis, as was said before.

20 However, he had decided to spare this city, since it was founded by Cyrus; for there were no other of those nations whom he admired more than that king and Semiramis,[b] who he believed had far excelled all others in the greatness of their courage and the glory
21 of their deeds. But the obstinacy of the inhabitants so inflamed his anger, that, after taking the city, he ordered it to be ravaged. Having destroyed it,

Deleta ea,[1] Memacenis[2] haud iniuria infestus,[3] ad
22 Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. Sed non alia urbs fortius obsidionem tulit; quippe et militum promptissimi cecidere et ipse rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque cervix eius saxo ita icta est, ut oculis caligine offusa collaberetur, ne mentis quidem compos; exercitus certe velut erepto iam eo ingemuit.
23 Sed invictus adversus ea quae ceteros terrent, nondum percurato vulnere acrius obsidioni institit, naturalem celeritatem ira concitante. Cuniculo ergo suffossa moenia ingens nudavere spatium, per quod irrupit, victorque urbem dirui iussit.
24 Hinc Menedemum cum tribus milibus peditum et DCCC equitibus ad urbem Maracanda[4] misit. Spitamenes transfuga, praesidio Macedonum inde deiecto, muris urbis eius incluserat se, non adeo[5] oppidanis consilium defectionis approbantibus; sequi tamen
25 videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. Interim Alexander ad Tanain amnem redit et, quantum soli occupaverat[6] castris, muro circumdedit; LX stadiorum urbis murus fuit. Hanc quoque urbem Alex-
26 andriam appellari iussit. Opus tanta celeritate perfectum est, ut XVII die quam munimenta excitata erant tecta quoque urbis absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque
27 munus—nam divisum erat—primus ostenderet. In-

[1] Deleta ea *Hedicke;* delete *A*.
[2] Memacenis *Acidalius;* macedones *A*.
[3] infestus *Acidalius;* infestos *A*.
[4] Maracanda *J. Froben;* maracandam *A*.
[5] non adeo *Hedicke;* haud *A* (aut *V*).
[6] occupaverat *Vogel;* occupauerant *A*.

[a] Arrian (iv. 2. 3) does not mention undermining.
[b] Called Alexandria on the Iaxartes.

not unreasonably filled with indignation against the Memaceni, he returned to Meleager and Perdiccas.
22 But no other city withstood siege more stoutly; for the bravest of his soldiers fell and the king himself was exposed to extreme danger. For his neck was struck with a stone with such force that darkness veiled his eyes and he fell and even lost consciousness; the army in fact lamented as if he had already
23 been taken from them. But unconquered in the face of what terrifies other men, he pressed on the siege before the wound had yet been wholly healed, anger spurring on his natural speed. Therefore, his men having undermined [a] the walls and opened a great breach, he burst through it into the city, and when victor ordered it to be razed.
24 Next he sent Menedemus with 3000 infantry and 800 cavalry to the city of Maracanda. Within the walls of this city the deserter Spitamenes, after driving out the Macedonian garrison, had shut himself, although the inhabitants did not fully approve of his design of revolt; yet they were thought to consent to
25 it, since they could not prevent it. Meanwhile Alexander returned to the Tanais and surrounded with a wall all the space which he had occupied with his camp; the wall of the city measured sixty stadia. This city also he ordered to be called Alexandria.[b]
26 The work was completed with such speed, that seventeen days [c] after the fortifications were raised the buildings of the city also were finished. There had been great rivalry of the soldiers with one another, that each band—for the work was divided—might be
27 the first to show the completion of his task. As

[c] Arrian (iv. 4. 1) says twenty; Justin (xii. 5) agrees with Curtius.

colae novae urbi dati captivi, quos, reddito pretio dominis, liberavit; quorum posteri nunc quoque non apud eos tam longa aetate propter memoriam Alexandri exoleverunt.

VII. At rex Scytharum, cuius tum ultra Tanaim imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripa amnis Macedones condiderant, suis impositam esse cervicibus, fratrem, Carthasim nomine, cum magna equitum manu misit ad diruendam eam proculque amne sub-
2 movendas Macedonum copias. Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis quos Europaeos[1] vocant dividit, idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit. Ceterum Scy-
3 tharum gens haud procul Thracia sita ab oriente ad septentrionem se vertit Sarmatarumque, ut quidam
4 credidere, non finitima, sed pars est. Recta deinde regione saltum[2] ultra Istrum iacentem colit, ultima Asiae, qua Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitant quae septentrioni propiora sunt; profundae inde silvae vastaeque solitudines excipiunt. Rursus quae Tanain et Bactra spectant, humano cultu haud disparia sunt primis.[3]

5 Cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu eius obequitaret hostis, adhuc aeger ex vulnere, praecipue voce deficiens, quam et modicus cibus et cervicis extenuabat dolor,
6 amicos in consilium advocari iubet. Terrebat eum

[1] Europaeos *Aldus;* europeas *A.*
[2] saltum *Jeep;* alium *A.* [3] primis *Bentley;* primus *A.*

[a] Justin (xii. 5) says that they were the inhabitants of the three cities which Cyrus had founded. But *cf.* Arr. iv. 4. 1.
[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxix. 2. 21; xxxi. 7. 12.

inhabitants for the new city prisoners[a] were chosen, whom he freed by paying the masters their price; even now their posterity after so long a time have not ceased to enjoy consideration among those peoples because of the memory of Alexander.

VII. But the king of the Scythians, whose rule at that time extended beyond the Tanais, thinking that this city which the Macedonians had founded on the bank of the river was a yoke upon their necks,[b] sent his brother, Carthasis by name, with a large force of cavalry to demolish it and drive off the Macedonian
2 forces. The Tanais separates the Bactriani from the so-called European Scythians, and is also the bound-
3 ary between Asia and Europe.[c] But the Scythian race which is situated not far from Thrace extends from the east towards the north, and is not a neighbour of the Sarmatians, as some have believed, but a
4 part of them.[d] Then keeping straight on, it inhabits the forest lying beyond the Danube, and borders the extremity of Asia at Bactra. They inhabit the parts which are nearer to the north, then dense forests and desert wastes meet them. Again, the parts which look towards the Tanais and Bactra in human cultivation are not unlike the first.

5 Alexander, about to wage an unforeseen war with this race, when the enemy rode up in sight of him, although still ailing from his wound, and especially feeble of voice, which both moderation in food and the pain in his neck had weakened, ordered his friends to
6 be called to a conference. It was not the enemy that

[c] The Iaxartes, confused with the real Tanais, which flows into the Maeotic Gulf (Sea of Azov).

[d] Strabo xi. 2. 1 reckons the Sarmatians as a part of the Scythians.

non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis ; Bactriani defecerant, Scythae etiam lacessebant, ipse non insistere in terra, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari
7 suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus, deos quoque incusans querebatur, se iacere segnem, cuius velocitatem nemo antea valuisset effugere ; vix suos
8 credere non simulari valitudinem. Itaque, qui[1] post Dareum victum hariolos et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum mentium[2] ludibrium,[3] revolutus, Aristandrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat,[4] explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis iubet. Mos erat haruspicibus exta sine rege spectare et quae portenderentur referre.

9 Inter haec rex, dum fibris pecudum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius[5] ipsum considere de industria[6] amicos iubet, ne contentione vocis cicatricem infirmam adhuc rumperet. Hephaestio et[7] Craterus et Erigyius erant cum custodibus in taber-
10 naculum admissi. " Discrimen," inquit, " me occupavit meliore hostium quam meo tempore ; sed necessitas ante rationem est, maxime in bello, quo
11 raro permittitur tempora eligere.[8] Defecere Bactriani in quorum cervicibus stamus, et quantum in nobis animi sit alieno Marte experiuntur. Haud dubia fortuna ; si omiserimus Scythas ultro arma

[1] qui *added by Hedicke.*
[2] mentium *Iunius;* gentium *A.*
[3] ludibrium *Hedicke;* ludibrio *A.*
[4] addixerat *Lauer;* adduxerat *A.*
[5] propius *J. Froben;* prius *A.*
[6] de industria *Hedicke;* deinde *A.*
[7] et *added by Hedicke; A omits.*
[8] tempora eligere *Hedicke;* temporelegere *A.*

[a] For *humanarum mentium cf.* Amm. xiv. ii. 25.

alarmed him, but the unfavourable condition of the times; the Bactriani had revolted, the Scythians also were provoking him to battle, he himself could not stand on his feet, could not ride a horse, could not
7 instruct nor encourage his men. Involved as he was in a double danger, accusing even the gods, he complained that he, whose swiftness no one had before been able to escape, was lying idle; even his own men hardly believed that he was not feigning illness.
8 Therefore he, who after vanquishing Darius had ceased to consult soothsayers and seers, lapsing again into superstition, that mocker of men's minds,[a] ordered Aristander, to whom he had consigned his faith,[b] to examine by sacrifices into the outcome of his affairs. It was the custom of the diviners to examine the entrails without the presence of the king, and to report what these portended.
9 Meanwhile the king, while they were trying by inspection of the entrails of the victims to learn the result of hidden events, purposely bade his friends to sit very near him, in order that he might not, by exerting his voice, break the scab of his wound, which was still tender. Hephaestion, Craterus, and Erigyius, with his body-guard, had been admitted to his
10 tent. To them he said: "Danger has surprised me at a time better for the enemy than for myself; but necessity outstrips calculation, especially in war, where a man is seldom allowed to choose his own times.
11 The Bactriani have revolted, on whose necks we are standing, and are trying through a war waged by others to learn how much spirit we have. Our fortune is not doubtful; if we disregard the Scythians, who

[b] For *addixerat* see Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1. 52. 137, on the general idea v. 4. 2. Aristander, *peritissimus vatum*, iv. 2. 14.

inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecerunt, re-
12 vertemur; si vero Tanaim transierimus et ubique
invictos esse nos Scytharum pernicie ac sanguine
ostenderimus, quis dubitabit parere etiam Europae[1]
13 victoribus? Fallitur qui terminos gloriae nostrae
metitur spatio quod transituri sumus. Unus amnis
interfluit; quem si traicimus, in Europam arma
14 proferimus. Et quanti aestimandum est, dum Asiam
subigimus, in alio quodam modo orbe tropaea statuere
et quae tam longo intervallo Natura videtur diremisse
15 una victoria subito committere? At, hercule, si
paulum cessaverimus, in tergis nostris Scythae haere-
bunt. An soli sumus qui flumina transnare possu-
mus? Multa in nosmetipsos recident quibus adhuc
16 vicimus. Fortuna belli artem victos quoque docet.
Utribus amnem traiciendi exemplum fecimus nuper;
hoc ut Scythae imitari nesciant, Bactriani docebunt.
17 Praeterea unus gentis huius exercitus adhuc venit,
ceteri expectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus et
quod inferre possumus accipere cogemur.
18 "Manifesta est consilii mei ratio; sed an permis-
suri sint mihi Macedones animo uti meo dubito,
quia, ex quo hoc vulnus accepi non equo vectus sum,
19 non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo,
amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista; aut, si
iam adest vitae meae finis, in quo tandem opere

[1] Europae *Letellier;* europen *A.*

[a] This method of crossing rivers seems to have been general with Asiatic peoples.

are attacking us without provocation, we shall return
12 an object of contempt to those who have revolted; if
however we cross the Tanais and show by the defeat
and slaughter of the Scythians that we are every-
where invincible, who will hesitate to obey those who
13 are victors even over Europe also? He is deceived
who measures our glory by the space which we are
about to cross. A single river flows between us; if
14 we cross that, we carry our arms into Europe. And
how highly must it be regarded, while we are subjugat-
ing Asia, to set up trophies in what might be called
another world, and suddenly to join in one victory
places which Nature seems to have separated by so
15 great a space? But, by Heaven! if we delay even a
short time, the Scythians will be close at our backs. Are
we the only ones that can swim across rivers? Many
inventions will recoil upon us by which we have so far
16 been victorious. The fortune of war teaches its art
even to the vanquished. We have lately set them
the example of crossing a river on skins [a]; even if the
Scythians do not know how to imitate this, the Bac-
17 triani will teach them. Besides, only one army of
this nation has yet arrived, the rest are expected.
Hence by avoiding war, we shall give it strength,
and in a war in which we can take the offensive
we shall be reduced to defence.

18 "The reasonableness of my plan is clear; but I
doubt whether the Macedonians will allow me to use
my judgement, because, as the result of this wound
which I have suffered, I have neither ridden nor gone
19 on foot. But if you are willing to follow me, I am
strong, my friends. I have sufficient strength to
endure the dangers which I have suggested; or, if the
end of my life is already at hand, in what exploit,

20 melius exstinguar ? " Haec quassa adhuc voce subdeficiens vix proximis exaudientibus dixerat, cum omnes a tam praecipiti consilio regem deterrere
21 coeperunt, Erigyius maxime, qui haud sane auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum, superstitionem cuius potens non erat rex incutere temptavit dicendo deos quoque obstare consilio magnumque
22 periculum, si flumen transisset, ostendi. Intranti Erigyio tabernaculum regis Aristander occurrerat tristia exta fuisse significans ; haec ex vate comperta Erigyius nuntiabat.

23 Quo inhibito, Alexander non ira solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quod superstitio quam celaverat
24 detegebatur, Aristandrum vocari iubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum : " Non rex," inquit, " sed privatus clam[1] sacrificium ut faceres mandavi ; quid eo portenderetur cur apud alium quam apud me professus es ? Erigyius arcana mea et secreta te prodente cognovit, quem certum, mehercule, habeo
25 extorum interprete uti metu suo. Tibi autem, qui sapis,[2] quam potest denuntio ipsi mihi indices quid ex eis[3] cognoveris, ne possis infitiari dixisse, quae
26 dixeris." Ille exsanguis attonitoque similis stabat, per metum etiam voce suppressa, tandemque eodem metu stimulante ne regis exspectationem moraretur : " Magni," inquit, " laboris, non irriti discrimen instare praedixi ; nec me tam[4] ars mea quam beni-

[1] clam *Hedicke;* sum *A.*
[2] qui sapis *Jeep;* qui saepius *FP;* saepius *BLV.*
[3] ex eis *Kinch;* extis *A.*
[4] me tam *Bentley;* mea *A.*

20 pray, shall I die more nobly?" So much had he spoken in a voice faltering, broken all the time and with difficulty to be heard by those who were beside him, when all began to deter the king from so rash a
21 plan, Erigyius especially, who, unable by his influence to check his obstinate purpose, tried to arouse his superstition, which was the king's weak point, by saying that even the gods opposed his plan, and that great danger menaced him, if he should cross the
22 river. Erigyius, as he entered the king's tent, had been met by Aristander, who told him that the signs of the victims had turned out unfavourable; this, which he had learned from the seer, Erigyius reported.

23 Having silenced him, Alexander, confused, not by anger alone, but also by shame because the superstition which he had concealed was revealed, ordered
24 Aristander to be summoned. When he came, the king, gazing sternly at him, said: "Not as king, but secretly as a private person, I ordered you to offer a sacrifice. Why did you announce what was portended by it to another rather than to me? Through your indiscretion Erigyius knew my private and secret affairs, and, by Heaven! I feel sure that he uses his
25 own fear as an interpreter of the victim's vitals. But I order you, who know, to indicate to me personally as truly as possible what you have learned from those sacrifices, so that you may not be able to deny having
26 said what you shall tell me." Aristander stood pale and as if thunderstruck, and although through fear he lost his voice, at length, driven also by fear, lest he should keep the king waiting, he said: "I predicted that a contest of great, but not fruitless labour threatened; and it is not so much my art as

27 volentia tua[1] perturbat. Infirmitatem valitudinis tuae video et quantum in uno te sit scio ; vereor, ne
28 praesenti fortunae tu sufficere non possis." Rex iussit eum[2] confidere felicitati suae ; ut alias sibi ait[3]
29 gloriam concedere deos. Consultanti inde[4] cum eisdem quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander non alias laetiora exta vidisse se affirmans, utique prioribus longe diversa ; tum sollicitudinis causas apparuisse, nunc prorsus egregie litatum esse.
30 Ceterum, quae subinde nuntiata sunt regi, continuae felicitati rerum eius imposuerant labem.
31 Menedemum, ut supra dictum est, miserat ad obsidendum Spitamenen, Bactrianae defectionis auctorem ; qui, comperto hostis adventu, ne muris urbis includeretur, simul fretus excipi posse, qua eum[5]
32 venturum sciebat, consedit occultus. Silvestre iter aptum insidiis tegendis erat ; ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos armatos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli repente desiliunt et[6] equestris pugnae ordinem tur-
33 bant. Equorum velocitati par est hominum pernicitas. Hos Spitamenes saltum circumire iussos pariter et a lateribus et a fronte et a tergo hosti ostendit.
34 Menedemus undique inclusus, ne numero quidem par, diu tamen resistit clamitans nihil aliud superesse

[1] tua *added by Hedicke.* [2] iussit eum *Jeep;* iussum *A.*
[3] ut alias sibi ait *Hedicke;* ad alia sibi ad *A.*
[4] inde *Aldus;* mihi *A.* [5] qua eum *Stangl;* quem *A.*
[6] et *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] Arrian (iv. 4. 3) says that Aristander did not change his predictions. [b] See vii. 6. 24.

27 affection for you that disturbs me. I see the weakness of your health, and I know how much depends on you alone. I fear that you cannot be equal to
28 the present fortune." The king bade him have confidence in his good fortune ; saying that, just as at
29 other times, the gods granted him glory. Then, as he was consulting with the same men as to what method they should use for crossing the river, Aristander appeared, declaring that at no other time had he seen more favourable entrails ; especially were they very different from the former ones ; that then causes for anxiety had appeared, but that now the sacrifice had turned out exceptionally favourable.[a]
30 But what was presently announced to the king had inflicted a stain on the continual good fortune of
31 his enterprises. He had sent Menedemus, as was said before,[b] to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the defection of the Bactriani ; Spitamenes, having learned of the coming of the enemy, in order not to be shut within the walls of the city, and at the same time trusting that Menedemus could be taken unawares, had secretly laid an ambuscade where he knew that
32 Menedemus would come. The road was covered with woods and adapted to conceal the ambush ; there he hid the Dahae. Each of their horses carries two riders, of whom in turn one suddenly dismounts
33 and confuses the order of a cavalry battle. The speed of the men is equal to the swiftness of their horses. These, which had been ordered to surround the woods, Spitamenes showed at the same time on the flanks,
34 in front, and in the rear of the enemy. Menedemus, hemmed in on all sides, although not even equal in numbers, yet resisted for a long time, crying that since they had been deceived by an ambuscade, no

locorum fraude deceptis quam honestae mortis solacium ex hostium caede.

35 Ipsum praevalens equus vehebat, quo saepius in cuneos barbarorum effusis habenis evectus, magna
36 strage eos fuderat. Sed cum unum omnes peterent, multis vulneribus exsanguis Hypsiclem[1] quendam ex amicis hortatus est ut in equum suum escenderet et se fuga eriperet. Haec agentem anima defecit,
37 corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. Hypsicles poterat quidem effugere, sed amisso amico mori statuit. Una erat cura ne inultus occideret; itaque subditis calcaribus equo in medios hostis se inmisit
38 et, memorabili edita pugna, obrutus telis est. Quod ubi videre, qui caedi supererant, tumulum paulo quam cetera editiorem capiunt; quos Spitamenes
39 fame in deditionem subacturus obsedit. Cecidere eo proelio peditum II milia, CCC equites. Quam cladem Alexander sollerti consilio texit, morte denuntiata his qui ex proelio advenerant, si acta vulgassent.

VIII. Ceterum cum animo disparem vultum diutius ferre non posset, in tabernaculum super ripam flu-
2 minis de industria locatum secessit. Ibi sine arbitris singula animi consulta pensando noctem vigiliis extraxit, saepe pellibus tabernaculi allevatis, ut conspiceret hostium ignes, e quibus coniectare poterat
3 quanta hominum multitudo esset. Iamque lux appetebat, cum thoracem indutus, procedit ad milites,

[1] Hypsiclem *Eberhard;* suspiciens *A*.

[a] For *defluxit cf.* Livy ii. 20. 3.

solace was left for them except that of an honourable death, a solace arising from the slaughter of the enemy.

35 He himself rode a very powerful horse, by which often carried at full speed into solid blocks of barbarian
36 troops, he routed them with great carnage. But when they all attacked him alone, and he was drained of blood by many wounds, he urged Hypsicles, one of his friends, to mount his horse and save himself by flight. As he was saying this, life left him, and his body slipped down [a] from his horse to the ground.
37 Hypsicles could in fact have escaped, but after losing his friend he resolved to die. His only care was, not to fall unavenged; therefore, spurring on his horse, he plunged into the midst of the enemy, and having fought a memorable fight, was overwhelmed by their
38 weapons. When those who had survived the carnage saw that, they took position on an eminence a little higher than the rest of the field; there Spitamenes besieged them, hoping by starvation to drive
39 them to surrender. There fell in that battle 2000 foot and 300 horsemen. Alexander with crafty prudence concealed this disaster, threatening with death those who had returned from the battle, if they made public what had happened.

VIII. But when he could no longer bear an expression which belied his feelings, he withdrew to his tent, which he had purposely placed on the bank of the
2 river. There without witnesses, weighing his plans one by one, he spent the night sleepless, often raising the skins of the tent to look at the enemies' fires, from which he could calculate how great their number of
3 men was. And already daylight was at hand, when, putting on his cuirass, he went out to the soldiers,

4 tum primum post vulnus proxime acceptum. Tanta erat apud eos veneratio regis, ut facile periculi, quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia eius excuteret.
5 Laeti ergo et manantibus gaudio lacrimis consalutant eum et, quod ante recusaverant bellum feroces de-
6 poscunt. Ille se ratibus equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronuntiat, super utres iubet
7 nare levius armatos. Plura nec dici res desideravit nec rex dicere per valitudinem potuit. Ceterum tanta alacritate militum rates iunctae sunt, ut intra[1] triduum ad XII milia effecta sint.
8 Iamque ad transeundum omnia aptaverant, cum legati Scytharum XX, more gentis per castra equis vecti, nuntiare iubent regi, velle ipsos ad eum man-
9 data perferre. Admissi in tabernaculum iussique considere, in vultu regis defixerant oculos ; credo, quis magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus modicus habitus[2] haudquaquam famae par videbatur.
10 Scythis autem non, ut ceteris barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est ; quidam eorum sapientiam quoque capere dicuntur, quantamcumque gens capit
11 semper armata. Sic, quae[3] locutos esse apud regem memoriae proditum est abhorrent forsitan moribus oratoribusque[4] nostris, et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis. Sed, ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen

[1] intra *Hedicke;* in *A.*
[2] habitus *Acidalius;* animus *A.*
[3] Sic, quae *Halm;* sicque *C;* si qua *P.*
[4] oratoribus *added by Hedicke;* que *A.*

[a] But contrary to Roman custom.

for the first time since the recent wound which he
4 had suffered. So great was their veneration for the king, that his presence readily dispelled all thought
5 of the danger which they dreaded. Happy therefore and shedding tears of joy, they saluted him, and confidently demanded the battle which they had before
6 refused. He announced that he was going to transport the cavalry and the phalanx on rafts, and he ordered the lighter-armed troops to swim, sup-
7 ported by inflated skins. The situation did not call for more words, nor could the king say more because of his illness. But the rafts were put together with such enthusiasm on the part of the soldiers, that within three days about 12,000 were finished.

8 And already they had prepared everything for crossing, when twenty envoys of the Scythians, according to the custom of their race [a] riding through the camp on horseback, ordered announcement to be made to the king that they desired to deliver a
9 message to him. Being admitted to the tent and invited to be seated, they had fixed their eyes on the king's face, because, I suppose, to those who estimated spirit by bodily stature his moderate size
10 seemed by no means equal to his reputation. However, the comprehension of the Scythians is not so rude and untrained as that of the rest of the barbarians ; in fact, some of them are even said to pick up something of philosophy, so far as a race that is
11 always in arms is capable of such knowledge. Hence what they are reported to have said to the king is perhaps foreign to our customs and our orators, who have been allotted more cultivated times and intellects. But although their speech may be scorned, yet our fidelity ought not to be ; and so we shall

fides nostra non debet; quae, utcumque sunt tradita, incorrupta proferemus.[1]

12 Igitur[2] unum ex his maximum natu locutum accepimus: "Si di habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet; altera manu Orientem, altera Occidentem contingeres, et hoc assecutus, scire velles ubi tanti numinis fulgor
13 conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis quae non capis. Ab Europa petis Asiam, ex Asia transis in Europam; deinde, si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum silvis et nivibus et fluminibus ferisque bestiis gesturus
14 es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras arbores magnas diu crescere, una hora exstirpari? Stultus est qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur.[3] Vide, ne, dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis, cum ipsis
15 ramis quos comprehenderis decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit, et ferrum robigo consumit. Nihil tam firmum est, cui peri-
16 culum non sit etiam ab invalido. Quid nobis tecum est? Numquam terram tuam attigimus. Quis[4] sis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? Nec servire ulli possumus nec imperare de-
17 sideramus. Dona nobis data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ignores, iugum boum[5] et aratrum, sagitta, hasta, patera. His utimur et cum amicis et adversus
18 inimicos. Fruges amicis damus boum labore quaesi-

[1] proferemus *Bentley;* perferemus *A.*
[2] igitur] *the Excerpta Rhenaugiensia (R) begin with this word.*
[3] metitur *Lauer;* metit *A.* [4] Quis *Kinch;* qui *A.*
[5] boum *Vindelinus;* bouem *PR;* boues *C.*

report their words without change, just as they have been handed down to us.

12 Well then, we have learned that one of them, the eldest, said: "If the gods had willed that your bodily stature should be equal to your greed, the world would not contain you; with one hand you would touch the rising, with the other the setting sun, and having reached the latter, you would wish to know where the brilliance of so great a god hides
13 itself. So also you desire what you cannot attain. From Europe you pass to Asia, from Asia you cross into Europe; then, when you have subdued the whole human race, you will wage war with the woods
14 and the snows, with rivers and wild beasts. Why, do you not know that great trees are long in growing, but are uprooted in a single hour? He is a fool who looks at their fruits, but does not scan their height. Beware lest, while you strive to reach the top, you fall with the very branches which you have
15 grasped. Even the lion has sometimes been the food of the smallest of birds, and rust consumes iron. Nothing is so strong that it may not be in danger
16 even from the weak. What have we to do with you? We have never set foot in your lands. Are not those who live in the solitary woods allowed to be ignorant who you are, whence you come? We cannot obey any man, nor do we desire to rule any.
17 That you may know the Scythian nation, we have received as gifts a yoke of oxen[a] and a plow, an arrow, a spear, and a bowl. These we use both with
18 our friends and against our foes. We give grain to our friends, acquired by the labour of our oxen,

[a] *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 5.

tas, patera cum eisdem[1] vinum dis libamus, inimicos sagitta eminus, hasta comminus petimus.

" Sic Syriae[2] regem et postea Persarum Medorumque superavimus, patuitque nobis iter usque in
19 Aegyptum. At tu, qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium gentium quas adisti latro es. Lydiam cepisti, Syriam occupasti, Persidem tenes, Bactrianos habes in potestate, Indos petisti; iam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles[3]
20 manus porrigis. Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire te cogunt? Primus omnium satietate parasti famem, ut, quo plura haberes, acrius quae non habes
21 cuperes. Non succurrit tibi, quam diu circum Bactra haereas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare coeperunt. Bellum tibi ex victoria nascitur. Nam, ut maior fortiorque sis quam quisquam, tamen alienigenam dominum pati nemo vult.
22 " Transi modo Tanain; scies, quam late pateant,[4] numquam tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocior erit quam exercitus tuus, qui praedam tot nationum vehit. Rursus, cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris. Eadem enim veloci-
23 tate et sequimur et fugimus. Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiis audio eludi; at nos deserta

[1] isdem *PR;* hiis *B m. pr.;* iis *B corr. FL;* his *V.*
[2] Syriae *Modius;* scythiae *A* (scythae *B*, scythiae *F*); greciae scithiae *R.*
[3] insatiabiles *Acidalius;* instabiles *AR.*
[4] pateant *Modius;* pateat *AR.*

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[a] *i.e.* Assyria, as in v. 1. 35.
[b] *Cf.* the reply of the pirates to Alexander in Cic. *De Rep.* iii. 14; Aug. *De Civ. Dei* iv. 4. 25.
[c] *Cf.* vii. 3. 19; Alexander had reached the Indian Caucasus (Parapanisus).

with them from the bowl we offer libation to the gods, we attack our foes from a distance with the arrow, with the spear hand to hand.

"It is thus that we have conquered the king of Syria [a] and later those of the Persians and the Medes, and that a way was opened for us even into Egypt.
19 But you, who boast that you are coming to attack robbers, are the robber [b] of all the nations to which you have come. You have taken Lydia, you have seized Syria, you hold Persia you have the Bactriani in your power, you have aimed at India [c]; already you are stretching your greedy and insatiable hands
20 for our flocks. What need have you for riches, which compel you to hunger for them? First of all men, you by a surfeit have produced a hunger wherein the more you have, the keener is your desire for
21 what you have not. Does it not occur to you how long you are delaying around Bactra? [d] While you are subduing the Bactriani the Sogdiani have begun to make war. For you victory is a source of war. For although you may be the greatest and bravest of all men, yet no one is willing to endure a foreign lord.
22 "Only cross the Tanais; you will learn how far the Scythians extend, yet you will never overtake them. Our poverty will be swifter than your army, which carries the pillage of so many nations. Again, when you believe us afar off, you will see us in your camp. For we both pursue and flee with the same
23 swiftness. I hear that the solitudes of the Scythians are made fun of even in Greek proverbs,[e] but we

[a] Curtius sometimes includes Sogdiana with Bactria south of the Oxus, but sometimes separates them; *cf.* vii. 4. 26.

[e] Σκυθῶν ἐρημία; see Aristoph. *Ach.* 704 and scholium.

et humano cultu vacua magis quam urbes et opulentos
24 agros sequimur. Proinde fortunam tuam pressis
manibus tene ; lubrica est nec invita teneri potest.
Salubre consilium sequens quam praesens tempus
ostendet melius. Impone felicitati tuae frenos ;
25 facilius illam reges. Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse
Fortunam, quae manus et pinnas tantum habet ; cum
manus porrigit, pinnas quoque comprehende.[1]
26 " Denique, si deus es, tribuere mortalibus beneficia
debes, non sua eripere ; sin autem homo es, id quod
es semper esse te cogita. Stultum est eorum me-
27 minisse, propter quae tui obliviscaris. Quibus bel-
lum non intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. Nam et
firmissima est inter pares amicitia, et videntur pares
28 qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos
viceris amicos tibi esse, cave credas. Inter dominum
et servum nulla amicitia est ; etiam in pace belli
29 tamen iura servantur. Iurando gratiam Scythas
sancire ne credideris ; colendo fidem iurant. Graeco-
rum ista cautio est, qui pacta[2] consignant et deos
invocant ; nos religionem in ipsa fide ponimus.[3] Qui
30 non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Nec tibi
amico opus est de cuius benivolentia dubites. Cete-
rum nos et Asiae et Europae custodes habebis ;
Bactra, nisi dividat Tanais, contingimus, ultra Tanain
terras[4] usque ad Thraciam colimus, Thraciae Mace-
doniam coniunctam esse fama fert. Utrumne imperio

[1] comprehende *Jeep;* conprehendere *AR.*
[2] pacta *Bongars;* facta *AR.*
[3] ponimus *Foss;* nouimus *AR.*
[4] terras *Hedicke;* et *AR.*

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[a] *Cf.* Sen. *Oedip.* 192 *amplexu presso.*
[b] Not the real Tanais (Don), but the Iaxartes.

seek after places that are desert and free from human cultivation rather than cities and rich fields.
24 Therefore hold your fortune with tight hands[a]; she is slippery and cannot be held against her will. Wholesome advice will be better shown by the future than by the present. Put curbs upon your good fortune;
25 you will manage it the more easily. Our people say that Fortune is without feet, she has only hands and wings; when she stretches out her hands, grasp her wings also.
26 "Finally, if you are a god, you ought to confer benefits on mankind, not strip them of those they have; but if you are a mortal man, always remember that you are what you are. It is folly to remember
27 those things which make you forget yourself. Those on whom you have not made war you will be able to use as friends. For friendship is strongest among equals, and those are regarded as equals who have
28 not made trial of one another's strength. Do not believe that those whom you have conquered are your friends. There is no friendship between master and slave; even in peace the laws of war are kept.
29 Believe not that the Scythians ratify a friendship by taking oath; they take oath by keeping faith. The oath is a caution of the Greeks, who jointly seal agreements and call upon the gods; our religion consists in good faith itself. Those who do not respect men
30 deceive the gods. And you have no need of a friend whose goodwill you may doubt. Moreover in us you will have guardians of both Asia and Europe; we touch upon Bactra, except that the river Tanais[b] is between us. Beyond the Tanais we inhabit lands extending to Thrace, and report says that the Macedonians border upon Thrace. Consider whether you

tuo finitimos hostes an amicos velis esse, considera."[1] Haec barbarus.

IX. Contra rex fortuna sua et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet; nam et fortunam, cui confidat, et consilium suadentium, ne quid temere et
2 audacter faciat, secuturum. Dimissisque legatis, in praeparatas rates exercitum inposuit. In proris clipeatos locaverat iussos in genua subsidere, quo
3 tutiores essent adversus ictus sagittarum. Post hos qui tormenta intenderent stabant et ab utroque latere et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post[2] tormenta constiterant, remigem lorica non tu-
4 tum[3] scutorum testudine armati protegebant. Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus quae equitem vehebant servatus est. Maior pars a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos quos utres stramento repleti vehebant obiectae rates tuebantur.

5 Ipse rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit et in ripam dirigi iussit. Cui Scythae admotos ordines equitum in primo ripae margine opponunt, ut ne
6 applicari quidem terrae rates possent. Ceterum praeter hanc speciem ripis praesidentis exercitus ingens navigantes terror invaserat; namque cursum gubernatores, cum obliquo flumine impellerentur, regere non poterant, vacillantesque milites et ne

[1] considera] *frag. R ends with this word.*
[2] qui post *J. Froben;* post qui *P;* post eos qui *C.*
[3] lorica non tutum *Hedicke;* loricam indutum *A.*

[a] See the description in Amm. xxiii. 4. 2 ff.
[b] That is, by the force of the current.

wish enemies or friends to be neighbours to your empire." So spoke the barbarian.

IX. In reply the king responded that he would make use of his own fortune and of their advice; for he would follow his fortune, in which he had confidence, and the advice of those who persuaded him
2 not to do anything rash and reckless. Having dismissed the envoys, he embarked his army on the rafts which he had prepared beforehand. On the prows he had stationed those who carried bucklers, with orders to sink upon their knees, in order that they might be safer against the shots of arrows.
3 Behind these stood those who worked the hurling-engines,[a] surrounded both on each side and in front by armed men. The rest, who were placed behind the artillery, armed with shields in testudo-formation, defended the rowers, who were not protected
4 by corselets. The same order was observed also on those rafts which carried the cavalry. The greater part of these let their horses swim astern, held by the reins. But the men who were carried on skins stuffed with straw were protected by the rafts that came between them and the foe.

5 The king himself with a select band of troops was the first to cast off a raft and to order it to be directed against the opposite bank. To him the Scythians opposed ranks of horsemen moved up to the very margin of the bank, that the rafts might not be
6 able even to reach the land. Moreover, besides the sight of the army guarding the banks, great terror had seized those who were managing the rafts; for the steersmen could not direct their course, since they were driven in a slanting direction,[b] and the soldiers, who kept their feet with difficulty and were

excuterentur solliciti, nautarum ministeria turbave-
7 rant. Ne tela quidem conati nisu vibrare poterant, cum prior standi sine periculo quam hostem incessendi cura esset. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temere se offerentes haud frustra excussa
8 sunt tela. Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus, vixque ullum fuit scutum quod non
9 pluribus simul spiculis perforaretur. Iamque terrae rates applicabantur, cum acies clipeata consurgit et hastas certo ictu, utpote libero nisu, mittit e ratibus. Et ut territos recipientesque equos videre, alacres mutua adhortatione in terram desilire et[1] turbatis
10 acriter pedem inferre coeperunt. Equitum deinde turmae, quae frenatos habebant equos, perfregere barbarorum aciem. Interim ceteri, agmine dimican-
11 tium tecti, aptavere se pugnae. Ipse rex quod vigoris[2] aegro adhuc corpori deerat animi firmitate supplebat. Vox adhortantis non poterat audiri, nondum bene obducta cicatrice cervicis, sed dimican-
12 tem cuncti videbant. Itaque ipsi quidem[3] ducum fungebantur officio, aliusque alium adhortati, in hostem salutis immemores ruere coeperunt.
13 Tum vero non ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium barbari tolerare potuerunt omnesque effusis habenis—namque equestris acies erat—capessunt

[1] desilire et *Hedicke;* desiliere *A.*
[2] vigoris *Lauer;* uigori *A.*
[3] quidem *Vindelinus;* quod *A.*

[a] *Cf.* iv. 3. 18.

worried by fear of being shaken overboard, threw
7 into confusion [a] the work of the boatmen. Although making every effort the soldiers could not even hurl their javelins, since they thought rather of keeping their footing without danger than of attacking the enemy. Their safety was the hurling-engines, from which bolts were hurled with effect against the enemy, who were crowded together and recklessly exposed
8 themselves. The barbarians also poured such a great amount of arrows upon the rafts, that there was hardly a single shield that was not pierced by many of their
9 points at the same time. And now the rafts were being brought to land, when those who were armed with bucklers rose in a body and with sure aim, since they had firm footing, hurled their spears from the rafts. And as soon as they saw that the horses were terrified and drawing back, inspired by mutual encouragement, they began to leap to land and
10 vigorously to charge the disordered barbarians. Then the troops of horsemen, who had their horses bridled, broke through the enemies' line. In the meantime the rest, being covered by those who were fighting,
11 prepared themselves for battle. The king himself by the vigour of his courage made up for what he still lacked in bodily strength because of his illness. His words of encouragement could not be heard, since the old wound on his neck was not yet wholly healed, but
12 all saw him fighting. And so they themselves played the part of leaders, and urging one another against the enemy, they began to rush upon them, regardless of their lives.

13 Then truly the barbarians could not endure the faces, the arms, nor the shouts of the enemy, but all with loose rein—for it was an army of cavalry—took

fugam. Quos rex, quamquam vexationem invalidi corporis pati non poterat, per LXXX tamen stadia
14 insequi perseveravit. Iamque linquente animo suis praecepit, ut, donec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhaererent; ipse, exhaustis etiam animi
15 viribus, in castra se recepit ibique[1] substitit. Transierant iam Liberi Patris terminos, quorum monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi arboresque
16 procerae, quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed Macedonas ira longius provexit; quippe media fere nocte in castra redierunt, multis interfectis, pluribus captis, equosque M et DCCC abegere. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites LX, pedites C fere, M saucii fuerunt.
17 Haec expeditio deficientem magna ex parte Asiam fama tam opportunae victoriae domuit. Invictos Scythas esse crediderant; quibus fractis, nullam gentem Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacae[2] misere legatos qui pollicerentur gen-
18 tem imperata facturam; moverat eos regis non virtus magis, quam clementia in devictos Scythas. Quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de forti-
19 tudine, non de ira fuisse certamen. Benigne igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis comitem Euxenippon[3] dedit, adhuc admodum iuvenem, aetatis flore conciliatum

[1] ibique *Freinshem;* reliquum *A.*
[2] Sacae *J. Froben;* sagae *A.*
[3] Euxenippon *Hedicke;* excipinon *C;* escipinon *P.*

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[a] The influence of the report of the victory is greatly exaggerated; *cf.* Arr. iv. 4. 8-9.

[b] This name is here applied to the Scythians east of the Iaxartes. *Cf.* also viii. 4. 20, and note.

flight. The king, although he was unable to endure the tossing of his ailing body, yet persisted in pur-
14 suing them for eighty stadia. And when finally his strength gave out, he ordered his men, so long as any light remained, to follow at the backs of the fugitives, he himself, having exhausted even his strength of mind, returned to the camp and remained there.
15 Already they had passed the bounds of Father Bacchus, which were marked by stones set up at frequent intervals and by tall trees whose trunks
16 were covered with ivy. But the wrath of the Macedonians carried them still farther; for it was nearly midnight when they returned to camp, after having slain many and taken still more prisoners, and they drove off 1800 horses. But of the Macedonians there fell sixty horsemen and about one hundred foot-soldiers; 1000 were wounded.
17 This campaign by the fame of so opportune a victory completely subdued Asia, which in great part was revolting.[a] They had believed that the Scythians were invincible; after their defeat they confessed that no nation would be a match for the Macedonians. Accordingly the Sacae[b] sent envoys
18 to promise that they would submit; the valour of the king had not influenced them more than his clemency towards the conquered Scythians. For he had sent back all the prisoners without a ransom, in order to make it appear that his rivalry with the most warlike nations was in bravery and not in
19 blind rage. Therefore he received the envoys of the Sacae courteously and gave them Euxenippus to accompany them; he was still very young and a favourite of the king because of his youthful beauty, but although in handsome appearance he was equal

sibi, qui cum specie corporis aequaret Hephaestionem, ei[1] lepore haud sane virili par non erat.

20 Ipse Cratero cum maiore parte exercitus modicis itineribus sequi iusso, adiit[2] Maracanda urbem. Inde[3] Spitamenes, comperto eius adventu, Bactra per-
21 fugerat. Itaque quadriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus, pervenerat in eum locum, in quo Menedemo duce duo milia peditum et ccc equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi iussit et
22 inferias more patrio dedit. Iam Craterus, cum phalange subsequi iussus, ad regem pervenerat; itaque, ut omnes qui defecerant pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit urique agros et interfici puberes[4] iubet.

X. Sogdiana regio maiore ex parte deserta est; octingenta[5] fere stadia in latitudinem vastae soli-
2 tudines tenent. Ingens spatium rectae regionis est, per quam amnis—Polytimetum vocant incolae—fertur. Torrentem eum ripae in tenuem alveum cogunt,
3 deinde caverna accipit et sub terram rapit. Cursus absconditi indicium est aquae meantis sonus, cum ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico
4 quidem resudet humore. Ex captivis Sogdianorum ad regem xxx nobilissimi corporum robore eximio perducti erant; qui ubi[6] per interpretem cognove-

[1] ei *Heinse;* et *A.* [2] adiit *Hedicke;* ad *A.*
[3] Inde *Hedicke;* inqua *A.* [4] puberes *Lauer;* pubes *A.*
[5] octingenta *Glareanus;* lxxx *A.*
[6] ubi *added by Hedicke.*

[a] Samarcand. According to Arrian (iv. 6. 3), this march followed immediately after the disaster of vii. 7. 30.

[b] Apparently the city which Arr. (iv. 1. 5) calls Zariaspa; whether that was another name for Bactra is uncertain.

to Hephaestion, he was not his match in a charm which was indeed not manly.

20 The king himself, having ordered Craterus with the greater part of the army to follow by moderate marches, went on to the city of Maracanda.[a] From there Spitamenes, on learning of his coming, had
21 fled to Bactra.[b] Accordingly the king, having in four days traversed a great extent of country, had reached the place where, under the lead of Menedemus, he had lost 2000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry. He ordered the bones of these to be covered with a mound and offered sacrifice to the spirits of the dead [c]
22 in the Macedonian fashion. Now Craterus, who had been ordered to follow with the phalanx, had rejoined the king; accordingly, in order that all who had revolted might alike be visited with the disasters of war, he divided his forces and gave orders that the fields should be set on fire and that all who were of military age should be killed.

X. The region of Sogdiana is for the greater part deserted; desert wastes occupy a width of 800
2 stadia. It extends straight on for a vast distance, through which flows a river which the natives call the Polytimetus.[d] This is at first a torrent, since its banks force it into a narrow channel, then a cavern
3 receives it, and hurries it off under the ground. Its hidden course is revealed only by the noise of the flowing waters, since the soil itself under which so great a river [e] flows does not exude even a slight
4 moisture. Of the prisoners of the Sogdiani thirty of the noblest born, men of extraordinary strength of body, had been brought in to the king; when these

[a] For *inferias dedit cf.* x. 1. 30. [d] The modern Koi.
[e] On the size of the river see Arr. iv. 6. 7.

runt iussu regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi, carmen laetantium modo canere tripudiisque et lasciviori corporis motu gaudium quoddam animi ostentare
5 coeperunt. Admiratus rex tanta magnitudine animi oppetere mortem, revocari eos iussit, causam tam effusae laetitiae, cum supplicium ante oculos habe-
6 rent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes morituros fuisse respondent; nunc a tanto rege, victore omnium gentium, maioribus suis redditos honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, carminibus sui moris laetitiaque celebrare.[1]

7 Tantam[2] rex admiratus magnitudinem animi: "Quaero," inquit,[3] "an vivere velitis non inimici
8 mihi, cuius beneficio victuri estis." Illi numquam se inimicos ei, sed bello lacessitos se inimicos hosti fuisse respondent; si quis ipsos beneficio quam iniuria experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse ne vincerentur
9 officio. Interrogantique quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent, vitam quam acciperent pignori futuram esse dixerunt; reddituros quandoque repetisset. Nec promissum fefellerunt. Nam qui remissi domos erant fide continuere populares; quattuor inter custodes corporis retenti, nulli Macedonum in regem caritate cesserunt.

10 In Sogdianis Peucolao cum III milibus peditum—neque enim maiore praesidio indigebat—relicto, Bactra pervenit. Inde Bessum Ecbatana duci iussit

[1] celebrare *Giunta;* celebrarent *A*.
[2] Tantam *Hedicke;* tum *A*.
[3] inquit *Grunauer;* itaque *A*.

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[a] Diod. xvii. 22 originally related this; *cf.* Contents *κβ*: *οἱ πρωτεύοντες Σωγδιανῶν ἀπαγόμενοι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον παραδόξως ἐσώθησαν.*

learned through an interpreter that they were being led to execution by order of the king, they began to sing a song [a] as if rejoicing, and to show a kind of pleasure by dances and by wanton movements of their
5 bodies. The king, surprised at their facing death with such greatness of spirit, ordered them to be recalled, and inquired the reason for such transports of joy when they had execution before their eyes.
6 They replied that if they were to be killed by anyone else they would have died sorrowful; as it was, being restored to their ancestors by so great a king, conqueror of all nations, they were celebrating by their usual songs and with rejoicing a glorious death, which brave men might even pray for.
7 Admiring such great courage, Alexander said: "I ask you whether you would wish to live on condition of not being unfriendly to me to whose favour
8 you will owe your lives." They replied that they had never been unfriendly to him, but that when provoked to war they were enemies of their foe. If one had preferred to try them with kindness rather than with injury, they would have striven not to be
9 outdone in courtesy. And when asked by what pledge they would bind their loyalty, they said that the life which was granted them would be their pledge; that they would pay it when he demanded it. And they kept their promise. For those who were then sent to their homes have by their good faith held their fellow-citizens together; four, who were retained as a part of his body-guard, yielded to none of the Macedonians in affection for the king.
10 Having left Peucolaüs among the Sogdiani with 3000 infantry—for he needed no larger force—Alexander came to Bactra. From there he ordered

11 interfecto Dareo poenas capite persoluturum. Eisdem fere diebus Ptolomaeus[1] et Melanidas[2] peditum IIII milia et equites M adduxerunt, mercede milita-
12 turos. Asander[3] quoque ex Lycia cum pari numero peditum et D equitibus venit. Totidem ex Syria Asclepiodorum sequebantur. Antipater Graecorum
13 VIII milia, in quis DC equites erant, miserat. Itaque exercitu aucto, ad ea quae defectione turbata erant componenda processit, interfectisque consternationis auctoribus, quarto die ad flumen Oxum perventum est. Hic, quia limum vehit, turbidus semper, in-
14 salubris est potui. Itaque puteos miles coeperat fodere, nec tamen, humo alte egesta, exsistebat humor. Tandem[4] in ipso tabernaculo regis conspectus est fons; quem quia tarde notaverant, subito exstitisse finxerunt, rexque ipse credi voluit, deum[5]
15 donum id fuisse. Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Margianam[6] pervenit. Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem versa, IIII spectantia orientem; modicis inter se spatiis[7] distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuum auxilium. Haec omnia sita sunt in editis
16 collibus. Tunc[8] velut freni domitarum gentium, nunc originis suae oblita, serviunt quibus imperaverunt.

XI. Et cetera quidem pacaverat rex. Una erat

[1] Ptolomaeus *Hedicke;* ptolomeus *C;* ptholomeus *P.*
[2] Melanidas *Hedicke;* maenidas *A.*
[3] Asander *Schmieder;* alexander *FLP;* aelexander *B m. pr. V.*
[4] Tandem *Kinch;* tamen *A.*
[5] deum *added in I.*
[6] Margianam *Ortel;* margianiam *A* (marginiam *B*).
[7] spatiis *J. Froben;* stadiis *A.*
[8] Tunc *Hedicke;* tum *A.*

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 7. 3.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 7.
[c] See Arr. *l.c.*

Bessus to be taken to Ecbatana,[a] to expiate with
11 his life his murder of Darius. At about the same time Ptolemy and Melanidas [b] brought the king 4000 infantry and 1000 horsemen, to serve as mer-
12 cenaries. Asander [c] also came from Lycia with an equal number of foot-soldiers and 500 horsemen. The same number followed Asclepiodorus from Syria. Antipater had sent 8000 Greeks, among whom were
13 600 cavalry. With his army thus increased the king marched forth to set in order the provinces which had been disordered by the revolt; and after putting to death the ringleaders of the disturbance, he returned on the fourth day to the river Oxus. This river, because it carries silt, is always turbid and unwhole-
14 some to drink. Therefore the soldiers had begun to dig wells; yet, although they excavated the soil to a great depth, they found no water. At length a spring was found right in the king's tent,[d] and because they had been late in perceiving it, they spread the report that it had suddenly appeared, and the king himself wished it to be believed that it was a
15 gift of the gods. Then he crossed the rivers Ochus [e] and Oxus and came to the city of Margiana. Round about it six sites were chosen for founding towns, two facing south and four east; they were distant from one another only a moderate space, so that they might be able to aid one another without seeking help from a distance. All these were situated on
16 high hills. At that time they served as curbs upon the conquered nations; to-day, forgetful of their origin, they serve those over whom they once ruled.

XI. And everything else the king had subdued.

[a] Arr. iv. 15. 7 says *οὐ μακρὰν τῆς σκηνῆς*, "not far from the tent."

[e] See Strabo xi. 11. 5.

petra, quam Ariamazes[1] Sogdianus cum xxx milibus armatorum obtinebat, alimentis ante congestis quae tantae multitudini vel per biennium suppeterent.
2 Petra in altitudinem xxx eminet stadia, circuitu c et L complectitur; undique abscisa et abrupta semita
3 perangusta aditur. In medio altitudinis spatio habet specum, cuius os artum et obscurum est; paulatim deinde ulteriora panduntur, ultima etiam altos[2] recessus habent. Fontes per totum fere specum manant, e quibus collatae aquae per prona montis
4 flumen emittunt. Rex loci difficultate spectata, statuerat inde abire; cupido deinde incessit animo
5 Naturam quoque fatigandi. Prius tamen quam fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophen[3]—Artabazi hic filius erat—misit ad barbaros qui suaderet ut dederent rupem. Ariamazes loco fretus, superbe[4] multa respondit, ad ultimum, an Alexander etiam volare posset interrogat.
6 Quae nuntiata regi sic accendere animum, ut, adhibitis cum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam barbari eludentis ipsos, quia pinnas non haberent; se autem proxima nocte effecturum, ut
7 crederet Macedones etiam volare. "ccc," inquit, "pernicissimos iuvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles et paene invias rupes
8 domi pecora agere consueverant."[5] Illi praestantes et levitate corporum et ardore animorum strenue adducunt. Quos intuens rex: "Vobiscum," inquit,

[1] Ariamazes *Hedicke;* arimazes *A.*
[2] altos *I;* altus *A.* [3] Cophen *J. Froben;* cophan *A.*
[4] superbe *I;* superba *P;* superbiae *C.*
[5] consueverant *C;* consuerant *P.*

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 18. 6.

There was one rock, which Ariamazes, a native of Sogdiana, was holding with 30,000 armed men, having previously stored there provisions sufficient
2 to support so great a force for fully two years. The rock rises to a height of 30 stadia, and embraces a circuit of 150; it is scarped on every side and
3 approached by a very steep and narrow path. In the middle of its ascent it has a cavern, the entrance of which is narrow and obscure; then farther in it gradually widens, and finally even contains deep recesses. Springs flow almost everywhere in the cavern, and the waters which gather in these send forth a river down the steep sides of the mountain.
4 The king, having seen the difficulty of the place, had decided to leave it; then a desire entered his mind
5 to wear out even Nature's strength. Nevertheless, before trying the fortune of a siege, he sent Cophes —he was a son of Artabazus—to the barbarians, to persuade them to surrender the rock. Ariamazes, trusting to his position, made several arrogant replies, and finally asked whether Alexander could even fly.[a]
6 When this was reported to the king, it so inflamed his mind, that summoning those with whom he was wont to consult, he told them of the insolence of the barbarian, who mocked at them because they did not have wings; but that he on the following night would make him believe that the Macedonians
7 could even fly. "Let each of you," said he, "bring me 300 of the most active young men from your forces, who at home were accustomed to drive their flocks over mountain pastures and almost impass-
8 able rocks." They quickly brought that number, who excelled in bodily agility and in ardour of courage. The king, looking them over, said: "It is with

" o iuvenes et mei aequales, urbium invictarum ante me munimenta superavi, montium iuga perenni nive obruta emensus sum, angustias Ciliciae intravi, Indiae sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpessus. Et mei
9 documenta vobis dedi et vestra habeo. Petra quam videtis unum aditum habet, quem barbari obsident, cetera neglegunt ; nullae vigiliae sunt, nisi quae
10 castra nostra spectant. Invenietis viam, si sollerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentis ad cacumen. Nihil tam alte natura constituit quo virtus non possit eniti. Experiendo quae ceteri desperaverunt,[1] Asiam habe-
11 mus in potestate. Evadite in cacumen ; quod cum ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabitis ; ego, copiis admotis, hostem in nos a vobis convertam.
12 Praemium erit ei qui primus occupaverit verticem talenta x, uno minus accipiet qui proximus ei venerit, eademque ad decem homines servabitur portio. Certum[2] autem habeo vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam quam voluntatem."
13 His animis regem audierunt, ut iam cepisse verticem viderentur ; dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant.
14 Rex circumvectus petram, qua minime asper ac praeruptus aditus videbatur, secunda vigilia, quod bene verteret, ingredi iubet. Illi, alimentis in biduum sumptis, gladiis modo atque hastis armati,
15 subire coeperunt. Ac primo pedibus ingressi sunt ;

[1] desperaverunt *J. Froben;* desperauerint *A.*
[2] Certum *J. Froben;* ceterum *A.*

[a] See vii. 8. 19, note *c*.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 18. 7, who says twelve.
[c] Iron wedges to ram between the steeper rocks and thus provide footholds. Arrian (iv. 19. 1) speaks of tent-pegs, to be fixed in the snow, or in the ground where it was bare of snow.

you, O youths, my comrades, that I have overcome the fortifications of cities that before now were unconquered, that I have traversed the heights of mountains buried in perpetual snow, that I entered the passes of Cilicia, and have endured the intense cold of India [a] without fatigue. I have given you
9 proofs of myself, and I have had proofs of you. The rock which you see has only one approach, which the barbarians beset, they neglect the rest; they have no sentinels except those that are watching our
10 camp. You will find a way, if you seek carefully for paths leading to the top. Nature has placed nothing so high, that valour cannot overcome it. It is by trying what others have despaired of that we have
11 Asia in our power. Go up to the summit; when you have attained it, you will give me a signal with white cloths. I will bring up forces and divert the enemy
12 from you to us. The reward for him who first reaches the top will be ten talents [b]; he who comes next will receive one less, and the same proportion will be maintained up to the number of ten men. But I am sure that you will have an eye, not so much to the reward, as to my desire."

13 They heard the king with such alacrity, that it seemed that they had already attained the summit; and when dismissed they prepared iron wedges to
14 insert between the stones,[c] and strong ropes. The king rode around the rock, and where the approach seemed least rough and steep he ordered them to set out in the second watch, uttering a prayer to the gods for success.[d] They, taking food sufficient for two days, and armed only with swords and lances,
15 began to climb up. And at first they advanced on

[a] *Cf.* v. 4. 12, note.

deinde, ut in praerupta perventum est, alii manibus eminentia saxa complexi levavere[1] semet, alii adiectis funium laqueis evasere, quidam[2] cum cuneos inter saxa defigerent, gradus subdidere[3] quis insisterent.
16 Diem inter metum laboremque consumpserunt. Per aspera enisis[4] duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo petrae videbatur. Illa vero miserabilis erat facies, cum ii quos instabilis gradus fefellerat ex praecipiti devolverentur; mox eadem in se patienda alieni
17 casus ostendebat exemplum. Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in verticem montis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris affecti, quidam mulcati parte membrorum, pariterque eos et nox et somnus op-
18 pressit. Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et asperis saxorum, periculi instantis obliti, in lucem quieverunt; tandemque, velut ex alto sopore excitati, occultas subiectasque ipsis valles rimantes,[5] ignari, in qua parte petrae tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specu[6] infra se ipsos evolutum notaverunt.
19 Ex quo intellectum illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis imposuere quod convenerat signum; totoque e numero II et XXX in ascensu interisse agnoscunt.
20 Rex non cupidine magis potiundi loci quam vice eorum quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat

[1] levavere *Wagener;* leuare *A.*
[2] quidam *Hedicke;* quibus *A.*
[3] subdidere *Foss;* subinde *A.*
[4] aspera enisis *Lauer;* asperenisi *P;* aspera nisi *BVF m. pr.;* aspera nisu *F corr. L m. pr.*
[5] rimantes *Lauer;* rimantis *C;* rimantium *P.*
[6] specu *Mützell;* specui *P;* specus *C.*

[a] See p. 220 note *c.* [b] *Cf.* viii. 14. 27; viii. 11. 12.
[c] *Cf.* Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 43. 94: Amm. xxix. 1. 33.

foot; then, when they came to very steep places, some grasped projecting stones with their hands and pulled themselves up, others made their way by using nooses of rope, still others drove wedges between the stones and made steps[a] on which to stand.
16 They spent a day amid fear and toil. After having struggled over rough places, still harder ones awaited them, and the height of the rock seemed to grow. That indeed was a pitiful sight,[b] when those whom their unsteady step had betrayed were hurled down a sheer drop; and the example of others' disaster showed that they must soon suffer the same fate.
17 Nevertheless, through all these difficulties they mounted to the top of the mountain, all worn out by the fatigue of constant toil, some maimed[c] in a part of their limbs, and night and sleep came upon them
18 together. With their bodies stretched here and there on the pathless and rough rocks, they forgot their dangerous situation and slept until daybreak[d]; and when at last they awakened as from a deep slumber, examining the hidden valleys that lay below them, and not knowing in what part of the rock so great a force of the enemy was hidden, they saw smoke rolling out from a cavern below them.
19 From this they knew that it was the hiding place of the enemy. Therefore they raised on their spears the signal which had been agreed upon; and they found that out of their whole number thirty-two had perished during the ascent.
20 The king, harassed not more from desire of taking the place than for the possible fate of those whom he had sent into such evident danger, stood during the

[a] According to Arrian (iv. 19. 3), they made the ascent in one night; Curtius' account seems more probable.

sollicitus, toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit; noctu demum, cum obscuritas conspectum oculorum
21 ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit. Postero die nondum satis clara luce primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed, ne falleretur acies, dubitare cogebat varietas caeli, nunc internitente lucis fulgore, nunc condito.[1] Verum ut liquidior lux apparuit
22 caelo, dubitatio exempta est; vocatumque Cophen, per quem barbarorum animos temptaverat, mittit ad eos qui moneret nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent, sin autem fiducia loci perseverarent, ostendi a
23 tergo iussit qui ceperant verticem. Cophes admissus suadere coepit Ariamazi petram tradere, gratiam regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione haerere non coegisset. Ille ferocius superbiusque quam antea locutus, abire Cophen iubet;
24 at is prensum manu barbarum rogat ut secum extra specum prodeat. Quo impetrato, iuvenes in cacumine ostendit et[2] eius superbiae haud immerito illudens, pinnas habere ait milites Alexandri.
25 Iamque e[3] Macedonum castris signorum concentus et totius exercitus clamor audiebatur. Ea res, sicut pleraque belli, vana et inanis[4] barbaros ad deditionem traxit; quippe occupati metu, paucitatem eorum qui
26 a tergo erant aestimare non poterant. Itaque Cophen

[1] nunc condito *Freinshem;* conditor *P;* conditi *C.*
[2] et *added by Vogel.* [3] e *added in I.*
[4] inanis *Hedicke;* inania *C;* inaniania *P.*

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 19. 3.
[b] *Cf.* viii. 4. 3. [c] *Cf.* iv. 13. 5.

whole day, looking at the summit of the mountain; not until night, when darkness prevented him from
21 seeing, did he withdraw for repose. On the following day,[a] before it was yet broad daylight, he was the first to see the cloths that showed that the top was taken. But the changing sky, where now a gleam of light shown through, which again was hidden,[b] compelled him to doubt whether his eyes did not deceive him. But as a clearer light appeared in the
22 heavens, his doubt was dispelled; and having summoned Cophes, through whom he had tested the feelings of the barbarians, he sent him to them, to warn them now at least to adopt a better purpose; but if they persisted through confidence in their situation, he ordered that those who had taken possession of the summit should be pointed out to them.
23 Cophes, being admitted, began to urge Ariamazes to surrender the rock, saying that he would gain the king's favour if, while he was engaged in such great enterprises, he should not delay him in the siege of a single rock. He, speaking more fiercely and arro-
24 gantly than before, ordered Cophes to depart; but he took the barbarian by the hand and asked him to go with him outside the cave. When he had complied, Cophes showed him the young men on the summit, and with good reason mocking his arrogance, said that the soldiers of Alexander had wings.
25 And now from the camp of the Macedonians the notes of the trumpets and the shouts of the whole army were heard. This, like many other things in war, although vain and empty,[c] moved the barbarians to surrender; for seized with fear, they were unable to estimate rightly the small number of those who were
26 in their rear. Therefore they quickly recalled Cophes,

—nam trepidantes reliquerat—strenue revocant et cum eo xxx principes mittunt, qui petram tradant
27 et ut incolumibus abire liceat paciscantur. Ille quamquam verebatur, ne conspecta iuvenum paucitate, deturbarent eos barbari, tamen et fortunae suae confisus et Ariamazi superbiae infensus,[1] nullam
28 se condicionem deditionis accipere respondit. Ariamazes, desperatis magis quam perditis rebus, cum propinquis nobilissimisque gentis suae descendit in castra; quos omnis verberibus affectos sub ipsis radi-
29 cibus petrae crucibus iussit affigi. Multitudo deditorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecunia capta dono data est, Artabazus in petrae regionisque quae apposita esset ei tutelam[2] relictus.

[1] infensus *added in I.*
[2] tutelam *Hedicke;* tutela *A.*

who had left them in their confusion, and sent with him thirty of their leading men, to surrender the rock and to stipulate that they should be allowed to retire
27 unharmed. The king, although he feared that, seeing the fewness of the young men,[a] the barbarians might dislodge them, yet trusting to his fortune and incensed by the arrogance of Ariamazes, replied that he would accept only an unconditional surrender.
28 Ariamazes, believing that his situation was desperate, whereas it was in fact not hopeless, came down to the king's camp with his relatives and the principal nobles of his race; Alexander ordered all these to be scourged and crucified at the very foot of the rock.
29 The multitude of those who had surrendered, together with the booty in money, was given to the settlers in the new cities.[b] Artabazus was left to govern the rock and the region adjacent to it.

[a] *i.e.* those who had reached the summit.

[b] The six that had been newly founded; see vii. 10. 15.

BOOK VIII

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HISTORY OF ALEXANDER, VIII

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He crosses the Indus and restores his rule to Omphis, who had surrendered himself and his kingdom. The kings exchange gifts (xii).

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The hard-fought battle of the Macedonians and the Indi; Porus is defeated but shows a lofty spirit, which wins Alexander's clemency and friendship (xiv).

LIBER VIII

I. Alexander, maiore fama quam gloria in dicionem redacta petra, cum propter vagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum. Hephaestionem uni, Coenon[1] alteri duces dederat, 2 ipse ceteris praeerat. Sed non eadem mens omnibus barbaris fuit; armis quidam subacti, plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt. Quibus eorum qui in defectione perseveraverant urbes agrosque iussit at- 3 tribui. At exsules Bactriani cum DCCC Massagetarum equitibus proximos vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas, regionis eius praefectus, CCC equites insidiarum quae parabantur ignarus,[2] 4 eduxit. Namque hostis in silvis—et erant forte campo[3] iunctae—armatum militem condidit, paucis propellentibus pecora, ut improvidum ad insidias 5 praeda perduceret. Itaque incomposito agmine solutisque ordinibus Attinas praedabundus sequebatur;

[1] Coenon *Aldus;* Cenon *A.*

[2] ignarus] *the frag. Herbipolitanum* (*H*) *begins with this word.*

[3] et erant forte campo *P;* quae erant forte campo *B F corr. L corr. V;* et quae erant forte campo *F m. pr.;* equae et erant forte campo *L m. pr.;* et forte campo erant *H.*

BOOK VIII

I. Alexander, having brought the rock under his sway with more fame than glory,[a] divided the army into three parts, since the roving nature of the enemy made it necessary for him to spread his forces about.[b] He gave the lead of one part to Hephaestion, of a second to Coenus, and he himself commanded the
2 third. But the barbarians were not all of the same mind; some were subdued by his arms, still more submitted without a contest. To the latter he ordered to be assigned the cities and lands of those
3 who had persisted in rebellion. But the Bactriani who had been dispossessed devastated, in company with 900 horsemen of the Massagetae, the neighbouring villages. To check them, Attinas,[c] the governor of that region, led out 300 horsemen, being unaware of the ambuscade that was being laid.
4 For in the woods—and it chanced that they were close to a plain—the enemy hid an armed force, while a few drove flocks before them, in order that the hope of booty might lead Attinas unawares into the
5 snare. Accordingly he, marching in disorder and in loose formation, was following them, thinking only

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *De Inv.* ii. 55. 166; *Pro Sest.* lxvi. 139; also ix. 10. 24, and note. [b] *Cf.* v. 13. 18; Arr. iv. 16. 3.
[c] Otherwise unknown. With the whole account *cf.* Arr. iv. 16. 4 ff.

quem praetergressum silvam qui in ea consederant ex improviso adorti, cum omnibus interemerunt.

6 Celeriter ad Craterum huius cladis fama perlata est, qui cum omni equitatu supervenit. Et Massagetae quidem iam refugerant, Dahae M oppressi sunt; quorum clade totius regionis finita defectio est.

7 Alexander quoque, Sogdianis rursus subactis, Maracanda repetit. Ibi Derdas,[1] quem ad Scythas super Bosphorum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis

8 occurrit. Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis[2] praeerat, Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adiunctus, miserat qui facturum imperata pollicerentur.

9 Scythae petebant, ut regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi iungeret; si dedignaretur adfinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suae gentis conubio coire pateretur; ipsum quoque[3] regem

10 venturum ad eum pollicebantur. Utraque legatione benigne audita, Hephaestionem et Artabazum operiens stativa habuit; quibus adiunctis, in regionem quae appellatur Bazaira pervenit.

11 Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt maiora indicia quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque

12 nobilium ferarum greges clusi. Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas crebris perennium aquarum fontibus amoenas; muris nemora cinguntur turresque habent

13 venantium receptacula. Quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum saltum fuisse constabat, cum[4] Alex-

[1] Derdas *Hedicke;* berdes *AH.*
[2] Chorasmiis *Rader;* Choras *A.*
[3] regum (*before* quoque) *deleted by Lauer.*
[4] cum *Hedicke;* quem *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 17. 1.
[b] On *super* see vi. 2. 13, note.
[c] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 15. 4. Perhaps the dwellers in Khiva.

of plunder ; but when he had passed by the woods, those who had taken post there suddenly attacked him and slew him with all his men.

6 The report of this disaster was quickly brought to Craterus, who came to the spot [a] with all his cavalry. The Massagetae, for their part, had already fled, but 1000 of the Dahae were slain, and by their slaughter 7 the rebellion of the whole region was ended. Alexander also, having again subdued the Sogdiani, returned to Maracanda. There Derdas, whom he had sent to the Scythians dwelling east of the Bosphorus,[b] met him with envoys of that people. 8 Phrataphernes also, satrap of the Chorasmii,[c] a neighbour to the Massagetae and the Dahae, had sent 9 messengers to promise his obedience. The Scythians asked that he should marry the daughter of their king ; if he considered her unworthy of the alliance, that he should suffer the leading men of the Macedonians to contract marriages with the great ladies of his race [d] ; they promised that the king himself 10 also would come to him. Both deputations were courteously heard and Alexander remained in camp for a few days, waiting for Hephaestion and Artabazus ; when they joined him, he passed into the district called Bazaira.[e]

11 There are no greater indications of the wealth of the barbarians in those regions than their herds of noble wild beasts, confined in great woods and parks. 12 For this purpose they choose extensive forests made attractive by perennial springs ; they surround the woods with walls and have towers as stands for 13 the hunters. The forest was known to have been undisturbed for four successive generations, when

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 15. 2-3. [e] Near Samarcand?

ander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique
14 feras iussit. Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis rarae ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, qui postea regnavit, proximus Alexandro venabulum obicere ferae coeperat; quo rex repulso et abire iusso, adiecit tam a semet uno quam a Lysimacho
15 leonem interfici posse. Lysimachus enim quondam, cum venarentur in Syria, occiderat quidem eximiae magnitudinis feram solus, sed laevo humero usque ad
16 ossa lacerato, ad ultimum periculi pervenerat. Id ipsum exprobrans ei, rex fortius quam locutus est fecit; nam feram non excepit modo, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit.

17 Fabulam quae obiectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit ab eo casu quem supra diximus
18 ortam esse crediderim. Ceterum Macedones, quamquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen scivere gentis suae more,[1] ne aut[2] pedes venaretur aut[3] sine delectis[4] principum atque ami-
19 corum. Ille, III milibus ferarum deiectis, in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est.

Inde Maracanda reditum est; acceptaque aetatis excusatione ab Artabazo, provinciam eius destinat
20 Clito. Hic erat qui apud Granicum amnem nudo

[1] more *Vindelinus;* morem *A.*
[2] ne aut *Mützell;* nam ut *A.* [3] aut *Aldus;* haud *A.*
[4] delectis *Vindelinus;* dilectis *A.*

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[a] See x. 10. 4.
[b] It is accepted by Justin xv. 3; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 16. 21; Sen. *De ira* iii. 17. 2, *De clem.* i. 25.
[c] Bactriana.
[d] He commanded the ἴλη βασιλική of the Companion

Alexander, entering it with his whole army, ordered
14 an attack on the wild beasts from every side. Among these when a lion of extraordinary size rushed to attack the king himself, it happened that Lysimachus, who was afterwards a king,[a] being beside Alexander, began to oppose his hunting-spear to the animal; but the king pushed him aside and ordered him to retire, adding that a lion could be killed by
15 himself alone as well as by Lysimachus. And in fact Lysimachus, once when they were hunting in Syria, had indeed alone killed a lion of remarkable size, but had had his left shoulder torn to the bone
16 and thus had come into great peril of his life. The king, taunting him with this very experience, acted more vigorously than he spoke; for he not only met the wild beast, but killed him with a single wound.
17 I am inclined to believe that the story which without evidence spread the report[b] that Lysimachus was exposed by the king to the attack of a lion arose from the incident which we have just mentioned.
18 But the Macedonians, although Alexander had been successful in his attempt, nevertheless voted in the manner of their nation that he should neither hunt on foot nor without being accompanied by selected
19 officers or friends. He, after having laid low 4000 wild beasts, banqueted in that same park with his entire army.

From there the king returned to Maracanda; and having accepted Artabazus' excuse of old age, he
20 made over his province[c] to Clitus. It was he, an old soldier of Philip and distinguished by many exploits in war,[d] who at the river Granicus[e] covered the

Cavalry, and later shared with Hephaestion the command of the whole troop.

[e] See Arr. i. 15. 8.

capite regem dimicantem clipeo suo texit et Rhosacis manum capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit, vetus Philippi miles multisque bellicis operibus clarus.
21 Hellanice,[1] quae Alexandrum educaverat, soror eius, haud secus quam mater a rege diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei eius tutelae-
22 que commisit. Iamque iter parare in posterum iussus, sollemni et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo incaluisset mero, immodicus aestimator sui, celebrare quae gesserat coepit, gravis etiam eorum auribus qui sentiebant vera memorari.
23 Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obterere, nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit ademptamque sibi malignitate et invidia patris tantae rei gloriam.
24 Illum quidem, seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos mercennarios orta, debilitatum vulnere quod in ea consternatione acceperat iacuisse, non alia re[2] quam simulatione mortis tutiorem; se corpus eius protexisse clipeo suo, ruentesque in illum sua manu
25 occisos. Quae patrem numquam aequo animo esse confessum, invitum filio debentem salutem suam. Atque[3] post expeditionem quam sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios victorem scripsisse se patri fusos fugatosque
26 hostes; nec adfuisse usquam Philippum. Laude

[1] hellanice *A;* et Lanice *Hedicke.*
[2] alia re *Zumpt;* alias *A.* [3] Atque *Hedicke;* itaque *A.*

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[a] In Arrian (iv. 9. 3) Lanicê.
[b] See v. 10. 3.
[c] See vi. 2. 2, note.
[d] For *obterere* in this sense *cf.* Livy xxiii. 43. 10.
[e] 338 B.C. Plut. *Alex.* ix. 2 and Diod. xvi. 86. 3 say that Alexander was first to break the line of the Thebans and put them to flight.
[f] Nothing is said of this elsewhere.

king with his shield when he was fighting bareheaded, and with his sword cut off the hand of Rhosaces, when
21 it threatened the king's life. And Hellanicê,[a] his sister, who had reared Alexander, was loved by the king as dearly as if she were his own mother. It was for these reasons that he entrusted to Clitus' faith and protection the strongest part of his empire.[b]
22 And now, after being bidden to prepare for a march on the following day, Clitus was invited to one of the king's usual prolonged banquets.[c] There, when the king had been heated by an abundance of wine, having an immoderate opinion of himself, he began to boast of his exploits, to the displeasure even of the ears of those who knew that what he said was true.
23 But the older men remained silent until he began to belittle[d] the deeds of Philip and to boast that the famous victory at Chaeronea[e] had been his work, but that the glory of so great a battle had been taken from him by the malignity and jealousy of his father.
24 That Philip, when a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian soldiers and the Greek mercenaries, being disabled by a wound which he had suffered during that disturbance, had fallen to the ground and could find no other expedient to protect himself better than feigning death; but that he had protected his father's body with his shield, and with his own hand
25 had slain those who were rushing upon him. This Philip could never bring himself to admit, being unwilling to be indebted for his life to his son. Also, that after the campaign which he himself had made without Philip against the Illyrians,[f] when victorious he had written to his father that the enemy had been routed and put to flight; and that Philip had
26 nowhere been present. He said that praise was due,

dignos esse, non qui Samothracum initia viserent cum Asiam uri vastarique oporteret, sed eos qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent.

27 Haec et his similia laeti audiere iuvenes; ingrata senioribus erant, maxime propter Philippum, sub quo
28 diutius vixerant, cum Clitus, ne ipse quidem satis sobrius, ad eos qui infra ipsum cubabant conversus Euripidis rettulit carmen, ita ut sonus magis quam
29 sermo exaudiri posset[1] a rege, quo significabatur male instituisse Graecos, quod tropaeis regum dumtaxat nomina inscriberent; alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Itaque rex, cum suspicaretur malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari proxi-
30 mos coepit quid ex Clito audissent. Et illis ad silendum obstinatis, Clitus paulatim maiore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Graecia gesta commemorat,
31 omnia praesentibus praeferens. Hinc inter iuniores senesque orta contentio est. Et rex, velut patienter audiret quis Clitus obterebat laudes eius, ingentem
32 iram conceperat. Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus si finem procaciter orto sermoni Clitus imponeret, nihil eo remittente[2] magis exasperabatur.
33 Iamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere audebat et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thebarum praeferebat excidio, non vino modo, sed

[1] posset *Lauer;* possit *A.*
[2] eo remittente *Acidalius;* eorum omittente *A.*

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[a] Its Mysteries ranked next to those of Eleusis; it was at his initiation that Philip had met and married Olympias; *cf.* Plut. *Alex.* ii.

[b] *Androm.* 684.

[c] See viii. 1. 23, note.

not to those who had witnessed the initiatory rites of Samothrace [a] at a time when Asia should have been laid waste by fire, but to those who by the greatness of their deeds had surpassed belief.

27 These and similar things the young soldiers heard with pleasure, but they were odious to the older men, especially because of Philip, under whom they
28 had lived longer, when Clitus, who was himself by no means wholly sober, turned to those who were reclining below him, and quoted a line of Euripides [b] in such a tone that the sound could be heard by the king
29 rather than the words made out, to the effect that it was a bad custom of the Greeks to inscribe on their trophies only the names of kings; for the kings stole the glory won by the blood of others. Therefore Alexander, for he suspected that the words had been somewhat malicious, began to ask those next to him
30 what they had heard Clitus say. And when they maintained an obstinate silence, Clitus, gradually raising his voice, spoke of the deeds of Philip and the wars which he had waged in Greece, rating them
31 all higher than the present victories. From this there arose a dispute between the younger and the older soldiers. And the king, although he appeared to hear with patience the words in which Clitus be-
32 littled his glory, had become exceedingly angry. But when it seemed that he would control himself if Clitus would put an end to the talk which he had wantonly begun, as he did not in any way moderate it, the king became more exasperated.

33 And now Clitus even ventured to defend Parmenion and extolled the victory of Philip over the Athenians [c] above the destruction of Thebes, being carried away, not only by wine, but by a perverse spirit of conten-

34 etiam animi prava contentione provectus. Ad ultimum : " Si moriendum," inquit, " est pro te, Clitus est primus ; at cum victoriae arbitrium agis,[1] praecipuum ferunt qui procacissime patris tui memoriae
35 illudunt. Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem possit. Mittor ad feras bestias, praecipitia
36 ingenia sortitas. Sed, quae ad me pertinent, transeo. Philippi milites spernis oblitus, nisi hic Atarrhias senex iuniores pugnam detrectantes[2] revocasset,
37 adhuc nos circa Halicarnasum haesuros fuisse. Quomodo igitur Asiam totam[3] cum istis iunioribus subegisti ?[4] Verum est, ut opinor, quod avunculum tuum in Italia dixisse constat, ipsum in viros incidisse, te in feminas."

38 Nihil ex omnibus inconsulte ac temere iactis regem magis moverat quam Parmenionis cum honore mentio illata. Dolorem tamen repressit,[5] contentus iussisse
39 ut convivio excederet. Nec quicquam aliud adiecit quam forsitan eum, si diutius locutus foret, exprobraturum sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam; hoc
40 enim superbe saepe iactasse. Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, iniectis manibus, iurgantes monentesque conabantur ab-
41 ducere. Clitus cum abstraheretur, ad pristinam

[1] agis *Acidalius;* magis *A.*
[2] detrectantes *Aldus;* detractantes *A.*
[3] totam *Bentley;* etiam *A.*
[4] subegisti *I;* subiecisti *A.*
[5] repressit *Acidalius;* rex pressit *A.*

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[b] Bactriana, rather, first assigned to Artabazus, later to Clitus; *cf.* vii. 5. 1, viii. 1. 19, Arr. iv. 15. 5; also p. 203, note *d.*

[b] See v. 2. 5.

34 tion. Finally he said: "If someone must die for you, Clitus is the first choice; but when you award the prizes of a victory, those bear off the palm who most wantonly mock the memory of your father.
35 You assign to me the province of Sogdiana,[a] so often rebellious, and not only untamed but not even capable of being subdued. I am sent to wild beasts, to which
36 Nature has given incorrigible recklessness. But of what concerns me I have nothing to say. You scorn the soldiers of Philip, forgetting that if old Atarrhias[b] here had not called back the younger men when they shrank from battle, we should still be lingering around
37 Halicarnassus. How then would you have subdued all Asia with those young men of yours? That is true, in my opinion, which your uncle[c] is known to have said in Italy, that he had encountered men, you women."[d]
38 Nothing among all the taunts which Clitus had inconsiderately and rashly uttered had more aroused the king than the honourable mention made of Parmenion.[e] Yet he restrained his resentment, content
39 with ordering Clitus to leave the banquet. And he added nothing else than that perhaps if Clitus had spoken at greater length, he would have taunted him with having saved his life; for of this he had often
40 arrogantly boasted. And when Clitus still delayed to rise, those who had reclined next to him laid hands upon him and with remonstrances and warning were
41 trying to lead him from the room. As he was being taken away, anger also was added to his former

[c] Alexander Molossus, ruler in Epirus, brother of Olympias, Alexander's mother.
[d] See Gell. 17. 21; Livy ix. 19. 10-11.
[e] Referring to § 33 *supra*.

vinolentiam[1] ira quoque adiecta, suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum, nunc, postquam tanti meriti praeterierit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse
42 proclamat. Attali quoque caedem obiciebat et ad ultimum Iovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander assereret, oraculum eludens, veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat.
43 Iam tantum irae conceperat rex quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimvero, olim mero sensi-
44 bus victis, ex lecto repente prosiluit. Attoniti amici, ne positis quidem, sed abiectis poculis, consurgunt in eventum rei quam tanto impetu acturus esset
45 intenti. Alexander, rapta lancea ex manibus armigeri, Clitum adhuc eadem linguae intemperantia furentem percutere conatus, a Ptolomaeo et Perdicca
46 inhibetur. Medium complexi et obluctari perseverantem morabantur, Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam
47 lanceam abstulerant; ille militum fidem implorans comprehendi se a proximis amicorum, quod Dareo nuper accidisset, exclamat signumque tuba dari ut ad regiam armati coirent iubet.
48 Tum vero Ptolomaeus et Perdiccas, genibus advoluti, orant, ne in tam praecipiti ira perseveret spatiumque potius animo det; omnia postero die
49 iustius executurum. Sed clausae erant aures, obstrepente[2] ira; itaque impotens animi, procurrit in

[1] vinolentiam *J. Froben;* uiolentiam *A.*
[2] obstrepente *I;* obstrepentes *A.*

[a] *Cf.* vi. 9. 18, note. [b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 8. 8.

drunkenness, and he shouted that the king's back had been protected by his own breast, but that now, after the time of so great a service had passed, even
42 the memory of it was odious. Then he also reproached the king with the murder of Attalus,[a] and finally, mocking the oracle of Jupiter, whom Alexander claimed as his father, he said that he himself had spoken to the king more truly than his "father" had done.

43 By now Alexander was filled with such great wrath as he could hardly have mastered when sober. In fact, his senses having long since been overcome by
44 wine, he suddenly leaped from his couch. His friends, in a panic, having not even put down their cups but thrown them aside, arose in a body, their thoughts centred upon the result of the act which he was about
45 to commit with such impetuosity. Alexander, wresting a lance from the hands of one of his guards, and attempting to kill Clitus, who was still raging with the same unbridled language, was prevented by Ptolemy
46 and Perdiccas. Throwing their arms about his waist, they kept holding him back while he continued to struggle; Lysimachus and Leonnatus had even taken
47 away the lance; the king, invoking the loyalty of his soldiers, cried that he was being seized by his closest friends, as had lately happened to Darius,[b] and ordered the signal to be given with the trumpet for the soldiers to take arms and come to the royal quarters.

48 Then truly Ptolemy and Perdiccas threw themselves at his knees and besought him not to persist in such unrestrained anger, but rather to take time for reflection; that to-morrow he would manage the
49 whole matter with more justice. But his ears were closed, deafened by wrath; and so, beside himself,

regiae vestibulum et, vigili excubanti hasta ablata, constitit in aditu, quo necesse erat his qui simul
50 cenaverant egredi. Abierant ceteri, Clitus ultimus sine lumine exibat, cum[1] rex quisnam esset interrogat. Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris quod parabat
51 atrocitas. Et ille iam non suae, sed regis irae memor,
52 Clitum esse et de convivio exire respondit. Haec dicentis latus hasta transfixit morientisque sanguine aspersus: "I nunc," inquit, "ad Philippum et Parmenionem et Attalum."

II. Male humanis ingeniis Natura consuluit, quod plerumque non futura, sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe rex, postquam ira mente decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussa, magnitudinem facinoris sera aesti-
2 matione perspexit. Videbat tunc immodice[2] libertate abusum, sed alioqui egregium bello virum et, nisi erubesceret fateri, servatorem sui, occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat rex, verborum licentiam, quae vino poterat imputari, nefanda
3 caede ultus. Manabat toto vestibulo cruor paulo ante convivae; vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, liberioremque paenitentiam solitudo
4 eliciebat.[3] Ergo hastam ex corpore iacentis evolsam retorsit in semet. Iamque admoverat pectori, cum advolant vigiles et repugnanti e manibus extorquent

[1] cum *Hedicke;* quam *B m. pr. FL m. pr. P m. pr. V m. pr.*
[2] immodice *Hedicke;* immodica *A.*
[3] eliciebat *Hedicke;* excipiebat *A.*

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[a] Curtius' account is less favourable to Alexander than those of Arrian, Plutarch, and Justin, who represent him as killing Clitus more in the heat of passion, at table or when he first rushed back into the dining-room.
[b] For *discussa cf.* vi. 8. 22.

he rushed into the vestibule of the royal quarters, and snatching a lance from the sentinel on guard, stood at the entrance where those who had dined with
50 him must pass out. The rest had gone, and Clitus was coming out last without a light, when the king asked who it was. Even his voice clearly indicated
51 the ferocity of the crime which he meditated. And Clitus, no longer mindful of his own anger, but remembering that of the king, replied that it was Clitus
52 and that he was leaving the banquet. As he was saying this the king ran the lance into his side, and bespattered with the blood of the dying man, cried: "Go now[a] to Philip and Parmenion and Attalus!"

II. Nature has dealt ill with men's minds, in that we generally weigh acts, not beforehand, but after they are done. For the king, after anger had left his mind and even his intoxication had been dispelled,[b] clearly perceived, but too late, the enormity
2 of his crime. He saw then that he had killed a man who had indeed immoderately abused freedom of speech, but who in any case was eminent in warfare, and if he was not ashamed to admit it, the saviour of his life. A king had usurped the detestable function of an executioner, and had punished licence in language, which might have been imputed to wine,
3 by an abominable murder. The whole vestibule swam with the blood of one who but now had been his guest, the sentinels stood aloof from him, amazed and as if stupefied, and solitude gave freer opportunity
4 for repentance. Therefore, tearing the lance from the body of the prostrate man, he turned it upon himself. And he had already brought it against his breast, when the sentinels flew to him, and in spite of his resistance wrested it from his hand, lifted him up,

adlevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. Ille humi prostraverat corpus, gemitu eiulatuque[1] miserabili tota personante[2] regia. Laniare deinde os unguibus et circumstantes rogare ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur.

6 Inter has preces tota nox extracta est. Scrutantemque num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero Patri non esse redditum stato[3] tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas caede commissa, iram dei fuisse mani-
7 festam. Ceterum magis eo movebatur, quod omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos ; neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem[a] postea ausurum, vivendum esse in solitudine velut ferae bestiae terrenti alias
8 timentique. Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, iussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum, lacrimis obortis : " Hanc," inquit, " nutrici meae gratiam rettuli, cuius duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloria occubuere mortem, hic frater, unicum orbitatis solacium, a me inter epulas occisus est.
9 Quo nunc se conferet misera ? Omnibus eius unus supersum, quem solum aequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego, servatorum meorum latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dexteram quidem nutrici sine
10 memoria calamitatis eius offerre possim ! " Et cum finis lacrimis querellisque non fieret, iussu amicorum corpus ablatum est.

[1] eiulatuque *Vindelinus;* heiulatuque *A.*
[2] personante *Modius;* personans *A.*
[3] stato *Modius;* statuto *A.*

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[a] *sociare sermonem* is poetic; see Val. Flacc. v. 281 and 516.
[b] Hellanicê; see viii. 1. 21; Arr. iv. 9. 3. One son was Proteas, Athen. iv. 129 a.

5 and carried him into his tent. He had thrown himself on the ground, while all the whole royal quarters rang with his groans and piteous wailing. Then he tore his face with his nails, begging those who stood around him not to suffer him to survive such a disgrace.

6 Amid prayers like these the whole night was spent. And while he was considering whether he had been driven to commit such a great crime by the anger of the gods, it occurred to him that he had not paid the annual sacrifice to Father Liber at the appointed time. Hence it was evident that the murder committed amid wine and feasting was a manifestation
7 of the anger of that god. But the king was still more disturbed because he saw that the minds of all his friends were terror-stricken, that no one would dare hereafter to converse [a] with him, but he must live in solitude like a savage beast which now inspires terror in other beasts and at other times is itself in fear
8 of them. Later, at dawn, he ordered the body to be taken into his tent, all bloody as it still was. When it was placed before him, he said with eyes filled with tears: "This is my requital to my nurse,[b] whose two sons met death at Miletus for my glory, this her brother, the sole comfort of her bereave-
9 ment, I have slain at a banquet. Where will the poor woman turn now? Of all her kindred I alone am living, and I am the only one whom she will not be able to look upon with kindly eyes. And I, the assassin of my preservers, shall return to my native land without being able even to offer my hand to my nurse without reminding her of her bereavement!"
10 And since he did not put an end to his tears and laments, by order of his friends the body was removed.

11 Rex triduum iacuit inclusus. Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum irrumpunt diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt;
12 ut cibum caperet. Quoque minus caedis puderet, iure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepultura quoque prohibituri, ni rex humari iussisset.
13 Igitur, x diebus maxime ad confirmandum pudorem apud Maracanda consumptis, cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, com-
14 meatus in hiemem paraturum. Quam Clito ante[1] destinaverat provinciam, Amyntae dedit; ipse Xenippa pervenit. Scythiae confinis est regio habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis, quia ubertas terrae non indigenas modo detinet, sed etiam advenas
15 invitat. Bactrianorum exsulum qui ab Alexandro defecerant receptaculum fuerat; sed, postquam regem adventare compertum est, pulsi ab incolis,
16 II milia fere et D congregantur. Omnes equites erant, etiam in pace latrociniis assueti; tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modo, sed etiam veniae desperatio efferaverat. Itaque ex improviso adorti Amyntan, praetorem Alexandri, diu anceps proelium fecerant;
17 ad ultimum DCC suorum amissis, quorum CCC hostis

[1] ante *Eberhard;* autem *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 9. 3.

[b] The decree is not mentioned elsewhere; *cf.* Arr. iv. 9. 7.

[c] Of 328–327 B.C. Curtius adds in viii. 8. 21 that after the execution of the "conspirators" whom the Macedonians agreed to be guilty the king had the Olynthian philosopher Callisthenes tortured to death.

[d] The name and the location are uncertain. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 43, places it "on the skirts of the Noura

11 The king lay in seclusion for three days.[a] When his attendants and body-guards knew that he was resolved upon dying, they all burst into the tent, and although for a long time he resisted their entreaties, they with difficulty prevailed upon him to take food.
12 And in order that he might feel less shame for the murder, the Macedonians decreed[b] that Clitus had been justly put to death, and that they would even have deprived him of funeral rites, if the king had not ordered that he be buried.
13 Then, after having spent ten days near Maracanda, chiefly that he might recover from his shame, he sent Hephaestion with a part of the army into the region
14 of Bactriana to prepare supplies for the winter.[c] The province which he previously had intended for Clitus he gave to Amyntas. He himself came to Xenippa[d]; this is a place bordering on Scythia, and it is occupied by many populous villages, since the fertility of the soil not only holds the natives but also attracts new-
15 comers. It had been the refuge of the Bactrian exiles who had revolted from Alexander; but after it was learned that the king was coming, these were driven out by the natives and were gathered together
16 to the number of about 2500. They were all horsemen, accustomed to brigandage even in time of peace; at that time too their savage natures had been made more reckless, not only by the war, but also by despair of pardon. Hence they made an unlooked-for attack upon Amyntas, a general of Alexander, and for a long time had held the contest in balance;
17 finally, after having lost 700 of their number, of whom the enemy took 300 prisoners, they turned

mountains, a range that runs from east to west about ten miles north of Bokhara."

cepit, dedere terga victoribus, haud sane inulti; quippe LXXX Macedonum interfecerunt, praeterque
18 eos CCC et L saucii facti sunt. Veniam tamen etiam post alteram defectionem impetraverunt.
19 His in fidem acceptis, in regionem, quam Nautaca[1] appellant, rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sisimithres, duobus ex sua matre filiis genitis; quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est.
20 Is,[2] armatis popularibus, fauces regionis, qua in artissimum cogitur, valido munimento saepserat.[3] Praeterfluebat torrens amnis, terga[4] petra claudebat;
21 hanc manu perviam incolae fecerant, sed aditu specus accipit lucem, interiora nisi illato lumine obscura sunt.[5] Perpetuus cuniculus iter praebet in campos
22 ignotum[6] nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quamquam angustias naturali situ munitas valida[7] manu barbari tuebantur, tamen, arietibus admotis, munimenta, quae manu adiuncta erant, concussit fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque deiecit.

Quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum
23 supergressus ad petram admovit exercitum. Ceterum interveniebat fluvius, coeuntibus aquis ex superiore fastigio in vallem, magnique operis vide-
24 batur tam vastam voraginem explere; caedi tamen arbores et saxa congeri iussit. Ingensque barbaros

[1] Nautaca *Glareanus;* nauta (amittam *F m. pr.*) *C.*
[2] Is *Modius;* ii *A.* [3] saepserat *Modius;* sepserant *A.*
[4] terga *Acidalius;* tergo *A.*
[5] obscura sunt *Vindelinus;* obsunt *A.*
[6] campos ignotum *Lauer;* campo signorum *A.*
[7] valida *J. Froben;* ac ualidas *A.*

[a] On the first see vii. 6. 13, 7. 31, 10. 10.

their backs to the victors, but by no means unavenged: for they killed eighty of the Macedonians, and 350
18 besides those suffered wounds. Yet they received pardon even after a second revolt.[a]
19 After these had been received in surrender, the king with his whole army came into the region which they call Nautaca.[b] The satrap was Sisimithres, who had two sons born of his own mother; for among those people it is lawful for parents to cohabit with
20 their children. He, having armed his subjects, had blocked the narrowest part of the entrance to the region with a strong fortification. Near by flowed a torrential river, which a crag in its rear protected;
21 through this the natives had made artificially a road, of which the entrance receives light through a cave, while the inner parts are dark unless a light has been carried in. A continuous passage, known only
22 to the natives, gives access to the plains. Although the barbarians with a strong force were guarding the pass, which was protected by its natural situation, nevertheless Alexander, bringing up his battering-rams, shattered the fortifications which had been artificially added, and laid low many of the defenders with slings and arrows.

When he had scattered these and put them to flight, passing over the ruins of the fortifications, he
23 brought his army to the crag. But the river intervened, where the waters from the summit came together and flowed into the valley, and it seemed a
24 task of great labour to fill up so vast an abyss; nevertheless he ordered trees to be felled and rocks to be brought together. And great panic had struck the

[b] A place in the middle of Sogdiana; Arr. iii. 28. 9; iv. 18. 2.

pavor, rudes ad talia opera, concusserat excitatam
25 molem subito cernentes. Itaque rex ad deditionem
metu posse compelli ratus, Oxarten misit nationis
eiusdem, sed dicionis suae, qui suaderet duci ut
26 traderet petram. Interim ad augendam formidinem
et turres admovebantur et excussa tormentis tela
micabant. Itaque verticem petrae, omni alio prae-
27 sidio damnato, petiverunt. At Oxartes trepidum
diffidentemque rebus suis Sisimithren coepit hortari
ut fidem quam vim Macedonum mallet experiri neu
moraretur festinationem victoris exercitus in Indiam
tendentis ; cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput
alienam cladem esse versurum.
28 Et ipse quidem Sisimithres deditionem non[1] abnue-
bat, ceterum mater eademque coniunx morituram se
ante denuntians quam in ullius veniret potestatem,
barbari animum ad honestiora quam tutiora con-
verterat, pudebatque libertatis maius esse apud
29 feminas quam apud viros pretium. Itaque, dimisso
internuntio pacis, obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed
cum hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris
consilii, quod praeceps magis quam necessarium esse
30 credebat, paenitere eum coepit. Revocatoque
strenue Oxarte, futurum se in regis potestate respon-
dit, unum id precatus,[2] ne voluntatem et consilium
matris suae proderet, quo facilius venia illi quoque
31 impetraretur. Praemissum igitur Oxarten cum

[1] non abnuebat *Kinch;* abnuebat *P;* annuebat *C.*
[2] id precatus *Heinse;* inprecatus *A.*

[a] This seems doubtful ; Arr. iv. 21. 3 ff. tells of an attempt on the rock of Chorienes, where similar difficulties made the work very slow. It might have seemed quick to the barbarians.

barbarians, who were unfamiliar with such works,
25 when they saw a dam quickly [a] raised. As a result
the king, thinking that they could be forced by fear
to surrender, sent Oxartes, of that same nation but
under his sway, to persuade their leader to deliver
26 over the crag. Meanwhile, to increase the dread,
at the same time towers were brought up and bolts
hurled from artillery leapt about. Accordingly, the
enemy made for the top of the crag, disapproving all
27 other defence. But Oxartes began to urge Sisi-
mithres, who was fearful and distrustful of his affairs,
to try the faith rather than the strength of the Mace-
donians, and not to delay the haste of a victorious
army which was on its way to India ; for anyone who
opposed it would bring upon his own head the disaster
aimed at others.
28 And Sisimithres for his part was not disinclined to
surrender, but his mother, who was also his wife,
declaring that she would die rather than come into
the power of any other, turned the mind of the
barbarian to what was more honourable than
safe, and he felt ashamed that freedom was more
highly valued among the women than among the
29 men. Accordingly, dismissing the intermediary for
peace, he had decided to stand a siege. But when
he had repeatedly measured the strength of the
enemy against his own, he began to regret having
followed the advice of the woman, which seemed to
30 be rash rather than necessary, and quickly recalling
Oxartes, he replied that he would surrender to the
king, begging only this one thing, that he would not
betray the advice and wish of his mother, in order that
he might more easily obtain pardon for her also.
31 Therefore, sending Oxartes ahead, he followed with

matre liberisque et totius cognationis grege sequebatur, ne expectato quidem fidei pignore quod
32 Oxartes promiserat. Rex, equite praemisso, qui reverti eos iuberet opperirique praesentiam ipsius, supervenit et, victimis Minervae Victoriae[1] caesis, imperium Sisimithri restituit, spe maioris etiam provinciae facta, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisset.
33 Duos illi iuvenes, patre tradente, secum militaturos sequi iussit.

Relicta deinde phalange ad subigendos qui defece-
34 rant, cum equite processit. Arduum et impeditum saxis iter primo utcumque tolerabant, mox equorum non ungulis modo attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis, sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius subinde agmen fiebat, pudorem, ut fere fit, immodico labore
35 vincente. Rex tamen, subinde equos mutans, sine intermissione fugientes insequebatur. Nobiles iuvenes comitari eum soliti defecerant praeter Philippum ; Lysimachi erat frater tum primum adultus et,
36 quod facile appareret, indolis rarae. Is pedes, incredibile dictu, per D stadia vectum regem comitatus est, saepe equum suum offerente Lysimacho, nec tamen, ut digrederetur a rege, effici potuit, cum lorica indutus arma gestaret.
37 Idem, cum perventum esset in saltum, in quo se barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam regemque
38 comminus cum hoste dimicantem protexit. Sed

[1] Minervae Victoriae *Stangl;* mineruae auictoriae *P m. pr.;* mineruae ac uictoriae *C.*

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[a] Ἀθήνη Νίκη; see iv. 13. 15, note.
[b] At Nautaca.
[c] *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 37. 45.
[d] *Cf.* Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* i. 41. 114.
[e] See viii. 5. 1.

his mother and children and with a band of all his kindred, not even waiting for the pledge of parole which
32 Oxartes had promised. The king, after sending on a horseman to order them to return and await his presence, came up, and having sacrificed victims to Minerva Victoria,[a] restored his rule to Sisimithres, giving him hope of a still greater province if he culti-
33 vated his friendship with loyalty. He ordered Sisimithres' two sons, whom their father had delivered to him, to follow, in order to serve as soldiers with him.

Then, having left[b] the phalanx to subdue those
34 who had revolted, he went on with the cavalry. The road, which was steep and impeded by rocks, they endured at first as well as they could; presently, when not only were the hooves of the horses worn down,[c] but their bodies also were wearied, many were unable to follow and the line became thinner from time to time, the excessive toil overcoming
35 their shame, as usually happens. Yet the king, from time to time changing horses, pursued the fugitives without interruption.[d] The young nobles who were accustomed to attend him[e] had given out except Philippus; he was a brother of Lysimachus, and had just arrived at manhood, and, as was readily apparent,
36 a youth of a rare character. He, incredible to relate, on foot for 500 stadia accompanied the mounted king, and although Lysimachus often offered him his horse, yet he could not be induced to leave Alexander's side, although he wore a cuirass and was carrying his arms.

37 This same youth, when they had come to the wood in which the barbarians had hidden, made a splendid fight and protected the king as he fought hand to
38 hand with the enemy. But after the barbarians left

postquam barbari, in fugam effusi, deseruere silvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnae corpus sustentaverat, liquit, subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore,
39 arboris proximae stipiti se applicuit. Deinde ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente, manibus regis excep-
40 tus est; inter quas collapsus exstinguitur. Maestum regem alius haud levis dolor excepit. Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat; quem exstinctum esse paulo ante quam reverteretur in castra cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

III. Dahas deinde statuerat petere; ibi namque Spitamenen esse cognoverat. Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna, indulgendo
2 ei numquam fatigata, pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris immodico amore flagrabat, quam aegre fugam[1] et nova subinde exsilia tolerantem, in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. Illa, malis fatigata, identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret victorisque Alexandri clementiam
3 expertus placaret, quem effugere non posset. Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti; quos cum pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet orabat: et, quo efficaciores essent preces, haud
4 procul erat Alexander. Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus, et formae profecto fiducia cupere eam quam primum dedi Alexandro, acinacem strinxit, per-

[1] aegre fugam *Giunta;* aegram fuga *A*.

the wood in scattered flight, the spirit which had sustained the young man's body in the ardour of battle left him, and suddenly a sweat broke out on all his body and he leaned against the nearest tree-
39 trunk. Then, when he was not sustained even by that support, he was taken in the king's arms, and there
40 swooned and died. In the midst of his sorrow another severe grief came to the king. Erigyius had been one of his illustrious generals[a]; and he learned, a little before his return to the camp, that he had died. The funeral of each was performed with every splendour and honour.

III. Next he had decided to attack the Dahae; for he had learned that Spitamenes was there. But this affair, like many others, Fortune, never wearied in indulging him, finished for him in his absence.
2 Spitamenes burned with immoderate love for his wife, whom he dragged with him as his companion into every danger, although she could hardly endure the toil of flight and constant changes of exile. She, worn out by hardships, from time to time made use of a woman's blandishments to persuade her husband at last to cease his flight, and having experienced Alexander's clemency, to placate one whom he could
3 not escape. She had borne him three children, who were now grown to manhood; having put these in their father's arms, she begged him to consent at least to pity them: and it gave greater effect to her
4 prayers that Alexander was not far off. Spitamenes, thinking that he was being betrayed, not advised, and that undoubtedly through confidence in her beauty his wife desired as soon as possible to be surrendered to Alexander, drew his scimitar and

[a] See especially vii. 4. 32 ff.

cussurus uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset fratrum eius occursu.

5 Ceterum abire e conspectu iubet, addito metu mortis si se oculis eius obtulisset, et ad desiderium
6 levandum noctes agere inter pelices coepit. Sed penitus haerens amor fastidio praesentium accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus, orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret patereturque sortem, quamcumque eis Fortuna fecisset; sibi mortem deditione
7 esse leviorem. At illa purgare se, quod quae utilia esse censebat muliebriter forsitan, sed fida tamen mente suasisset; de cetero futuram in viri potestate.
8 Spitamenes, simulato captus obsequio, de die convivium apparari iubet vinoque et epulis gravis et semi-
9 somnus in cubiculum fertur. Quem ut alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit caputque eius abscisum, cruore
10 respersa, servo suo conscio facinoris tradit. Eodem comitante, sicuti erat cruenta veste, in Macedonum castra pervenit nuntiarique Alexandro iubet, esse
11 quae ex ipsa deberet agnoscere. Ille protinus barbaram iussit admitti. Quam ut respersam cruore conspexit, ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse,
12 dicere quae vellet iubet. At illa servum, quem in vestibulo stare iusserat, introduci desideravit.

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[a] See v. 7. 2, note.

would have slain her if he had not been prevented by the hurried intervention of her brothers.
5 However he ordered her to quit his sight, adding a threat of death if she should show herself before his eyes, and to satisfy his longing he began to
6 pass his nights with concubines. But his deep-seated love was inflamed through disgust with his present associates. Therefore, again devoted to his wife alone, he did not cease to beg her to refrain from giving such advice, and to endure whatever lot Fortune should offer them, saying that to him death was a lighter
7 thing than surrender. But she excused herself for having advised what she thought expedient, perhaps with feminine weakness, but yet in a loyal spirit, saying that for the future she would submit to
8 her husband's authority. Spitamenes, won by this feigned compliance, ordered a prolonged[a] banquet to be prepared, from which he was carried to his
9 chamber heavy with wine and half-asleep. As soon as his wife saw that he was sunk in a deep and heavy slumber, she drew a sword which she had hidden under her robe, cut off his head, and, bespattered with blood, handed it to a slave who had been her
10 accomplice in the crime. Attended by the slave, with her robe all blood-stained as it was, she came into the camp of the Macedonians and ordered it to be announced to Alexander that there was something
11 that he ought to hear from her own lips. He at once ordered the barbarian woman to be admitted. When he saw her bespattered with blood, thinking that she had come to complain of some outrage, he bade her
12 tell him what she wished. But she desired that the slave whom she had ordered to stand in the vestibule should be brought in.

Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat,
13 suspectus scrutantibus quid occuleret ostendit. Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor, nec quis esset nosci satis poterat; ergo rex certior factus, humanum caput afferre eum, tabernaculo excessit percontatus-
14 que quid rei sit illo profitente cognoscit. Variae hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. Meritum ingens in semet esse credebat, quod transfuga et proditor, tantis rebus, si vixisset, iniecturus[1] moram, interfectus esset; contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum virum[2] optime meritum de ipsa, communium parentem liberum per insidias
15 interemisset. Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas, denuntiarique iussit ut excederet castris, ne[3] licentiae barbarae exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret.
16 Dahae, Spitamenis caede comperta, Dataphernen, defectionis eius participem, vinctum Alexandro seque dedunt. Ille, maxima praesentium curarum parte liberatus, convertit animum ad vindicandas iniurias eorum quibus a praetoribus suis avare ac superbe
17 imperabatur. Ergo Phratapherni Hyrcaniam et Mardos[4] cum Tapuris[5] tradidit mandavitque, ut Phradaten cui succedebat ad se in custodiam mitteret. Arsami, Drangarum[6] praefecto, substitutus est Stasanor,[7] Arsaces in Mediam missus ut Oxydates

[1] iniecturus *Giunta;* inuecturus *A*.
[2] virum *added by Hedicke.* [3] ne *Hedicke;* neu *A*.
[4] et Mardos *Modius;* eardos *A*.
[5] Tapuris *Aldus;* taphiris *A*.
[6] Drangarum *Freinshem;* dramearum *A*.
[7] Stasanor *Aldus;* tamsanor *A* (tamsonor *B*).

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 18. 2.

Because the slave had the head of Spitamenes hidden under his robe, he was suspected, and when some men searched him, he showed them what he was
13 hiding. A pallor had made the features of the bloodless face unrecognizable, and it could not be known who it was ; therefore the king, being informed that the slave was bringing a man's head, came out of his tent, and upon inquiring what had happened, learned
14 the truth from the slave's confession. Thereupon, as he considered the varied aspects of the case, his mind was moved by conflicting thoughts. He believed that it was a great service to him that a deserter and a traitor, who, if he had lived, would have caused delay to his important affairs, had been killed ; on the other hand, he was repelled by the great crime, in that the woman had treacherously killed a husband who deserved well of her, the father of their common
15 children. Yet the atrocity of the deed prevailed over gratitude for the service, and he ordered notice to be given her to leave the camp, lest by this example of barbarian lawlessness she might affect the character and mild dispositions of the Greeks.

16 The Dahae, learning of the murder of Spitamenes, bound Dataphernes, his partner in the revolt, and surrendered him and themselves to Alexander. He, thus freed from the greatest part of his present cares, turned his attention to avenging the wrongs of those who were being ruled greedily and tyrannically by his
17 governors. As a result, he made over to Phrataphernes Hyrcania and the Mardi with the Tapuri, and commanded him to send him under a guard Phradates, whose successor he was.[a] For Arsames, governor of the Drangae, Stasanor was substituted, while Arsaces was sent to Media, in order that Oxy-

inde discederet. Babylonia, demortuo Mazaeo, Stameni[1] subiecta est.

IV. His compositis, tertio mense ex hibernis movit exercitum, regionem, quae Gazaca[2] appellatur, adi-
2 turus. Primus dies quietum iter praebuit, proximus ei nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino, non sine minis crescentis mali prae-
3 teriit, tertio ab omni parte caeli emicare fulgura et, nunc internitente luce, nunc condita, non oculos modo meantis exercitus, sed etiam animos terrere
4 coeperunt. Erat prope continuus caeli fragor, et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur, attonitisque auribus, stupens agmen nec progredi nec
5 consistere[3] audebat; cum[4] repente imber grandinem incutiens torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primo quidem armis suis tecti exceperant, sed iam nec retinere arma lubrica rigentes manus[5] poterant nec ipsi destinare in quam regionem obverterent corpora, cum undique tempestatis violentia maior quam vita-
6 batur occurreret. Ergo, ordinibus solutis, per totum saltum errabundum agmen ferebatur, multique, prius metu quam labore defetigati, prostraverant humi corpora, quamquam imbrem vis frigoris concreto gelu
7 astrinxerat. Alii se stipitibus arborum admoverant; id plurimis et adminiculum et suffugium erat.
8 Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere se,[6] cum

[1] Stameni *Zumpt;* ditameni *A.*
[2] Gazaca *Hedicke;* gazaba *A.*
[3] consistere *Acidalius;* considere *A.*
[4] cum *Hedicke;* tum *C; P omits.*
[5] arma lubrica rigentes manus *Modius;* arma lubricae et rigentes manus *A.* [6] se *added by Hedicke.*

[a] At Nautaca, viii. 2. 19.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 17. 4. [c] *Cf.* iv. 6. 25.

dates might be recalled from there. In place of Mazaeus, who had died, Stamenes was made governor of Babylonia.

IV. After these matters had been arranged, he withdrew the army from winter quarters [a] after two months' stay, intending to go to the region which is
2 called Gazaca.[b] The first day allowed a quiet march, the following day was, it is true, not yet stormy and gloomy, yet it was darker than the preceding one, and did not pass without threat of growing trouble,
3 on the third, lightning flickered from every quarter of the heavens, and the light which now shone through and now was hidden, began, not only to dazzle the eyes of the advancing army, but even to
4 terrify them. There were almost continual peals of thunder, and bolts of lightning striking everywhere were seen, so that the army, stunned and deafened,
5 dared neither to halt nor to advance ; then suddenly a rain-storm bombarding them with hail poured upon them like a torrent. At first indeed they had received the hail successfully on the cover afforded by their shields, but finally their stiffened hands could no longer hold their slippery weapons,[c] nor could they themselves determine in what direction to turn their bodies, since on every side greater violence of the storm met them than that which they were trying to
6 avoid. Hence, having broken ranks, the army went wandering all through the woods, and many, worn out by fear (not yet by toil), had thrown themselves upon the ground, although the extreme cold had
7 hardened the rain and hail into solid ice. Others had leaned against the trunks of trees ; this served as a
8 support and refuge for very many. But it did not escape them that they were choosing a place to die,

immobilis vitalis calor linqueret; sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant exstingui quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modo, sed etiam pertinax vis mali insistebat, lucemque, naturale solacium, praeter tempestatem haud disparem nocti, silvarum quoque umbra suppresserat.

9 Rex unus tanti mali patiens circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, allevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum, hortarique ut
10 proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent. Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quam quod multiplicato labore sufficientem malis quis[1] ipsi cesserant regem deserere
11 erubescebant. Ceterum, efficacior in adversis necessitas quam ratio, frigoris remedium invenit; dolabris enim silvas sternere aggressi passim acervos struesque
12 accenderunt. Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum et vix inter flammas agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra commovit, paulatimque spiritus quem continuerat rigor meare
13 libere coepit. Excepere alios tecta barbarorum, quae in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat, alios castra, quae in humido quidem, sed iam caeli mitescente saevitia locaverunt. Duo milia[2] militum atque lixarum calonumque pestis illa consumpsit.
14 Memoriae proditum est quosdam applicatos arborum

[1] quis *added by Hedicke.* [2] Duo milia *Zumpt;* xx *A.*

since when they ceased to move, the vital heat left them; but inactivity of body was welcome to them in their weariness, nor did they shrink from dying as the price of resting. As a matter of fact, the force of the disastrous storm was not only violent but also persistent, and the light, that natural solace, in addition to the tempest, which was like night, was obscured also by the shade of the woods.

9 The king, who alone was able to endure such a disaster, went about among the soldiers, brought together those that were scattered, lifted up those who had fallen, and pointing out the distant smoke that rolled up from some huts, urged each man to resort to
10 the nearest places of refuge. And nothing contributed more to their safety than that they were ashamed to fail the king, who in spite of redoubled toil was able to endure the hardships to which they themselves
11 had succumbed. Moreover, necessity, which in adversity is more effective than reason, found a remedy for the cold; for they began to cut down the woods everywhere with adzes and set fire to the heaps
12 and piles of wood. You would have thought that the forest was ablaze with a continuous conflagration and that amid the flames hardly room was left for the troops. This heat aroused their benumbed bodies, and gradually their breath, which the cold had
13 checked, began to pass freely. Some took refuge in the huts of the barbarians, which necessity had tracked out though they were hidden in the inmost part of the woods, others in the camp which they pitched on ground that was indeed wet, but already the severity of the weather was moderating. That plague destroyed 2000 soldiers, not counting sutlers
14 and batmen. It is reported that some were seen

truncis et non solum viventibus, sed etiam inter se colloquentibus similis, esse conspectos, durante adhuc habitu in quo mors quemque deprenderat.

15 Forte Macedo gregarius miles seque et arma male[1] sustentans tamen in castra pervenerat ; quo viso rex, quamquam ipse tum maxime admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sella sua exsiluit torpentemque militem et vix compotem mentis, demptis armis, in sua sede
16 iussit considere. Ille diu nec ubi requiesceret, nec a quo esset exceptus agnovit. Tandem, recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem regemque vidit, terri-
17 tus surgit. Quem intuens Alexander : " Ecquid intellegis, miles," inquit, " quanto meliore sorte quam Persae sub rege vivatis ? Illis enim in sella regis consedisse capital foret, tibi saluti fuit."

18 Postero die, convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus, pronuntiari iussit ipsum omnia quae amissa essent redditurum. Et promisso fides exstitit.
19 Nam Sisimithres multa iumenta et camelorum II milia adduxit pecoraque et armenta ; quae distributa pari-
20 ter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. Rex gratiam sibi relatam a Sisimithre perlaetus,[2] sex dierum cocta cibaria ferre milites iussit, Sacas petens. Totam hanc regionem depopulatus, XXX milia pecorum ex praeda Sisimithri dono dat.

21 Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes,[3] satrapes

[1] male *added by Hedicke.*
[2] perlaetus *Hedicke;* praefatus *A.*
[3] Oxyartes *Aldus;* cohortandus *A.*

[a] For the same story see Val. Max. v. 1, ext. 1 ; Front. *Strat.* iv. 6. 3.

[b] *iumenta* (horses, asses, and mules) are here distinguished from camels ; see *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* lvii. p. 138, note.

[c] Apparently dwelling in the eastern part of Hissar, or east of Hissar.

stuck to the trunks of trees, looking as if they were not only alive but even talking together, still keeping the posture in which death had overtaken them.

15 It chanced that a Macedonian common soldier, hardly able to stand up and hold his weapons, had nevertheless reached the camp. On seeing him the king, although he himself was just then warming himself beside a fire, leaped up from his chair, and taking his armour from the exhausted and hardly
16 conscious soldier, bade him sit in his own seat. For a long time the man did not realize where he was resting nor by whom he had been rescued. At last, when he had recovered his vital heat and saw the
17 royal seat and the king, he arose in terror. Alexander, looking kindly at him, said: "Do you understand, soldier, how much better the lot of you soldiers is than if you were living under the king of Persia? For with the Persians, to have sat in the king's seat would have been a capital crime, with you it has saved your life." [a]

18 On the next day, having called together his friends and the leaders of his forces, he ordered it to be proclaimed that he himself would make good all that
19 had been lost. And he kept his promise. For Sisimithres had brought in many pack-animals [b] and 2000 camels, besides flocks and herds; these were distributed equally and saved the soldiers both from
20 loss and from hunger. The king, greatly pleased by the requital made him by Sisimithres, on his way to the Sacae [c] ordered the soldiers to carry with them cooked food enough for six days. Having devastated all that region, he gave Sisimithres a gift of 30,000 cattle from the booty.

21 From there he came into the province governed by

nobilis, praeerat, qui se regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille, imperio ei reddito, haud amplius quam ut duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent exegit.
22 Satrapes etiam eo qui penes ipsum relinquebatur tradito,[1] barbara opulentia convivium, quo regem
23 accipiebat, instruxerat; id cum multa comitate celebraretur, introduci xxx nobiles virgines iussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius, Roxane nomine, eximia corporis specie et decore habitus in barbaris raro.
24 Quae quamquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maxime regis, minus iam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia Fortunae,
25 contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darei, qui duas filias virgines, quibus forma praeter Roxanen comparari nulla potuerat, haud alio animo quam parentis aspexerat, tunc in amorem virgunculae, si regiae stirpi compararetur ignobilis, ita effusus est, ut diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere Persas et Macedones conubio iungi; hoc uno modo et pudorem victis et superbiam
26 victoribus detrahi posse. Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, cum captiva coisse; ne inferri nefas arbitrentur victi,[2] matrimonii iure velle iungi.
27 Insperato gaudio elatus[3] pater sermonem eius excipit, et rex in medio cupiditatis ardore iussit

[1] tradito *Modius;* tradit *C;* tradi *P.*
[2] victi *Hedicke;* ita *A.* [3] elatus *Hedicke;* laetus *A.*

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[a] For the name *cf.* Arr. iv. 19. 5.
[b] For *in* and the accusative with *effusus cf.* v. 1. 37; Livy xxix. 23. 4.
[c] Briseïs.

Oxyartes,[a] an illustrious satrap, who submitted himself to the power and good faith of the king. Alexander restored his dominion to him, and made no further requirement than that two of the satrap's
22 three sons should serve as his soldiers. Oxyartes delivered to him also the son who was left with him, and prepared a banquet of oriental magnificence, at
23 which he entertained Alexander; while this was being celebrated with great friendliness, the satrap ordered thirty high-born maidens to be brought in. Among these was his own daughter, Roxanê by name, a maiden of remarkable beauty of person, and of a dignity of bearing uncommon among barbarians.
24 She, although she had entered among an elite group, yet drew the eyes of all to her, especially of the king, who by now had less mastery over his passions amid the constant indulgence of Fortune, against whom
25 mortal man is not sufficiently on his guard. And so he, who had looked upon the wife of Darius and his two maiden daughters, to whom none save Roxanê could be compared in beauty, with no other feeling than that of a father, was then so transported[b] with love for this little maiden, of obscure birth in comparison with royal stock, that he said that it was important for establishing his empire that Persians and Macedonians be joined in wedlock; that only in that way could shame be taken from the conquered and
26 haughtiness from the victors. Achilles also, he said, from whom he traced his ancestry, had united with a captive maiden[c]; lest the vanquished should think that a wrong was being done to them, he wished to be joined with Roxanê in lawful wedlock.
27 The father was elated with unexpected joy on hearing the king's words and Alexander, in the full

afferri patrio more panem—hoc erat apud Macedonas sanctissimum coeuntium pignus—quem divisum gla-
28 dio uterque libabat. Credo eos qui gentis mores condiderunt parco et parabili victu ostendere voluisse iungentibus opes quantulo contenti esse deberent.
29 Hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adiunxit, ex[1] captiva
30 geniturus qui victoribus imperaret. Pudebat amicos super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse delectum, sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata, vultu, qui maxime servit, assentiebantur.

V. Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo quod destinata impedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis xxx milia iuniorum legi iussit et ad se armata perduci, obsides simul habiturus
2 et milites. Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanen et Catanen qui ab ipso defecerant misit; quorum Haustanes captus est, Catanes in proelio occisus. Polypercon quoque regionem, quae Bubacene appel-
3 latur, in dicionem redegit. Itaque, omnibus compositis, cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur non auro modo, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad luxum magis quam ad magnificen-
4 tiam exculta. Periti militum res[2] auro et ebore

[1] ex *Kinch;* et *P;* e *C.*
[2] militum res *Hedicke;* militares *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* vi. 1. 17; vii. 8. 1.
[b] *Cf.* vii. 5. 21.
[c] According to Arr. iv. 22. 1, Polypercon was in command of a part of Craterus' division of the army.
[d] Mentioned only by Curtius.
[e] *Cf.* v. 1. 23.

tide of his ardent passion, ordered a loaf of bread to be brought in according to his country's custom—this among the Macedonians was the most sacred pledge of those contracting marriage—which was cut in two
28 with a sword and tasted by each. I suppose that those who established the customs of the race wished by a frugal and common food to show to those who were about to unite their resources with how little
29 they ought to be contented. In this way the king of Asia and of Europe took to himself in wedlock a woman who had been brought in among the entertainments of a banquet, intending to beget from a captive
30 a son who should rule over victors. His friends were ashamed that a father-in-law had been chosen from among the surrendered amid wine and feasting, but since after the murder of Clitus freedom of speech had been banned, they pretended assent by expression of their faces,[a] which most readily play the slave.

V. But the king, intending to go on to India and from there to the Ocean, lest there should be any disturbance in his rear which could interfere with his plans, ordered 30,000 of the younger men to be selected from all the provinces and brought to him under arms, intending to have them at once as host-
2 ages and as soldiers. Furthermore, he sent Craterus in pursuit of Haustanes and Catanes,[b] who had revolted from him, of whom Haustanes was taken prisoner, Catanes killed in battle. Polypercon[c] also reduced to submission the region which is called
3 Bubacenê.[d] Accordingly, when everything was in order, he turned his thoughts towards an Indian war. That region was considered rich, not only in gold, but also in gems and pearls, and was highly developed
4 rather for luxury than for magnificence.[e] Those who

fulgere dicebant; itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum ceteris praestaret, scutis argenteas laminas, equis frenos aureos addidit, loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. cxx milia armatorum erant, quae regem ad id bellum sequebantur.

5 Iamque omnibus praeparatis, ratus[1] quod olim prava mente conceperat tunc esse maturum, quonam modo caelestes honores usurparet coepit agitare. Iovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tamquam perinde animis imperare posset ac
6 linguis, iussitque[2] more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius as-
7 sentatio quam hostis evertit. Nec Macedonum haec erat culpa—nemo enim illorum quicquam ex patrio more libare sustinuit—sed Graecorum, qui professionem honestarum artium malis corruperant mori-
8 bus, Agis[3] quidem Argivus, pessimorum[4] carminum post Choerilum conditor, et ex Sicilia Cleo, hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator, et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta, quae propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege inserebantur.[5] Hi tum caelum illi aperiebant,

[1] ratus *added by Freinshem.*
[2] iussitque *Jeep;* itaque *A.* [3] Agis *Aldus;* hages *A.*
[4] pessimorum *Lauer;* piissimorum *A.*
[5] inserebantur *Hedicke;* ferebantur *A.*

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[a] Alexander's army was so large at no other time. Plut. *Alex.* lxvi. 2 gives the same figure. [b] *Cf.* iv. 7. 30.
[c] Going a step farther than in iv. 7. 30.
[d] *Cf.* Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 32. 127; *De Off.* i. 42. 151.

knew said that the equipment of the soldiers gleamed with gold and ivory; consequently Alexander, not to be outdone in anything, since he surpassed all other men, added silver plates to the shields and put golden bits on his horses, and adorned the cuirasses also, some with gold, others with silver. There were 120,000 armed men[a] who followed the king to that war.

5 And now, when all was ready in advance, thinking that the time was then ripe for what he had long perversely planned,[b] he began to consider how he might usurp divine honours. He wished, not only to be called,[c] but to be believed to be the son of Jupiter, as if he could rule men's minds as well as their
6 tongues, and he ordered the Macedonians to pay their respects to him in the Persian fashion and to salute him by prostrating themselves on the ground. In his desire for such things he did not lack pernicious adulation, the constant evil of kings, whose power is more frequently overthrown by flattery than by foes.
7 And this was not the fault of the Macedonians—for none of them could endure to impair any jot of his native customs—but of the Greeks, who had debased their profession of the liberal arts[d] by evil habits:—
8 Agis,[e] an Argive, the composer of the worst of poems next after Choerilus,[f] and Cleo,[g] from Sicily, the latter indeed a flatterer, from a defect not only in his own nature, but also in his nation, and other sweepings[h] of their own cities; these were mingled by the king even with his nearest friends and the leaders of his greatest armies. These at that time were

[a] An epic poet; *cf.* Arr. iv. 9. 9.
[f] Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 232 ff.; *Ars Poet.* 357.
Not otherwise known. [h] *Cf.* vi. 11. 2.

Herculemque et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse iactabant.

9 Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari iubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam hostium[1] nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cum discubuisset rex, paulisper epulatus
10 convivio egreditur. Cleo, sicut praeparatum erat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum eius instituit. Merita deinde percensuit; quibus uno modo referri gratiam posse, si, quem intellegerent deum esse, confiterentur, exigua turis impensa tanta beneficia
11 pensaturi. Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter deos colere; maiestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam; tantum de quoque posteros credere, quantum praesens aetas spo-
12 pondisset. Quodsi ceteri dubitent, semetipsum, cum rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere ceteros et in primis sapientia praeditos; ab illis enim cultus in regem exemplum esse prodendum.

13 Haud perplexe in Callisthenen dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisa erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium
14 moraretur. Is tum, silentio facto, unum illum in-

[1] hostium *added by Hedicke.*

[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 10. 5-6, where on a similar occasion the sophist Anaxarchus uses like language.

[b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 8. 3.

opening Heaven to him, boasting that Hercules and Father Liber and Castor with Pollux would give place to the new deity.

9 Therefore on a festal day he ordered a banquet to be prepared with all magnificence, to which not only Macedonians and Greeks, the chief of his friends, but also nobles of the enemy were invited. When the king had taken his place at table with these, after
10 feasting for a little while he left the banquet. Cleo, as had been prearranged,[a] began the conversation by expressing admiration for the king's glorious deeds. Then he enumerated their obligations to him; these, he said, could be requited in only one way, namely, since they knew that he was a god, by admitting it and paying for such great favours by the slight
11 expense of incense. The Persians indeed were not only loyal but also wise in worshipping their kings among the gods; for the majesty of the empire was the protector of its safety. Not even Hercules and Father Liber had been acknowledged as gods until they had overcome the jealousy[b] of those who lived with them: future generations believed only so much about each man as his own time had vouched
12 for. But if the rest of the company were in doubt, he himself would prostrate himself on the ground when the king entered the banquet. The rest ought to do the same, and especially those endowed with wisdom; for it was by those that a precedent in worshipping the king ought to be shown.

13 Quite clearly this speech was directed against Callisthenes. The austerity of the man and his ready freedom of speech were odious to the king, as if he alone were delaying the Macedonians, who were
14 prepared for such obsequiousness. He then, when

tuentibus ceteris: "Si rex," inquit, "sermoni tuo adfuisset, nullius profecto vox responsuri tibi desideraretur; ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos ritus externosque[1] degenerare se cogeres neu rebus felicissime gestis invidiam tali adulatione contraheres.
15 Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo, nullum esse eundem et diuturnum et praecoquem fructum, caelestesque honores non dare te[2] regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur deus, semperque
16 hanc gratiam magnis viris posteri reddunt. Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor regi, ut et[3] vita diuturna sit et aeterna maiestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, numquam comitatur divinitas.
17 "Herculem modo et Patrem Liberum consecrata immortalitati exempla referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in caelum Fama
18 perveheret. Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, deos facimus, a nobis divinitatis suae auctoritatem accepturus est rex. Potentiam tuam experiri libet; fac aliquem regem, si deum potes facere! Facilius est caelum
19 dare quam imperium? Di propitii sine invidia quae Cleo dixit audierint eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patiantur. Nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriae, nec desidero ad quem modum rex mihi colendus sit discere a victis.[4]

[1] ritus externosque *P;* externosque ritus *C* (*B omits* externosque). [2] te *Lauer;* se *A*.
[3] ut et *Modius;* et ut *A*. [4] a victis *added by Hedicke.*

silence ensued and the rest were looking at him alone, said: "If the king had been present at your talk, surely the words of no one would be needed to reply to you; for he himself would beg that you should not force him to descend to foreign and alien rites, nor would you expose his highly successful exploits to
15 odium by such flattery. But since he is not present, I am replying to you in his behalf that no fruit is at the same time both durable and prematurely ripened,[a] and that you are not giving divine honours to your king, but taking them from him. For there is need of time for a man to be believed to be a god, and it is always thus that future generations requite great
16 men. But I pray for a late immortality for the king, in order that his life may be long and his majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes overtakes a man, it never accompanies him.

17 "You mentioned Hercules and Father Liber just now as examples of consecration to immortality. Do you believe that they were made gods by the decree of a single banquet? Their mortal nature was removed from sight before Fame transported them
18 to Heaven. Forsooth you and I, Cleo, make gods, from us the king will receive endorsement of his divinity! I should like to try your power; make someone a king, if you can make a god. Is it easier
19 to bestow heaven than empire? May the propitious gods have heard without offence what Cleo said, and suffer things to go on in the same course in which they have flowed up to now. May they allow us to be content with our habits. I am not ashamed of my fatherland, nor do I desire to learn from the vanquished how I ought to do honour to my king.

[a] *Cf.* iv. 15. 11.

Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges quis vivamus accipimus."

20 Aequis auribus Callisthenes veluti vindex publicae libertatis audiebatur. Expresserat non assensionem modo, sed etiam vocem, seniorum praecipue, quibus
21 gravis erat inveterati moris externa mutatio. Nec quicquam eorum quae invicem iactata erant rex ignorabat, cum post aulaea, quae lectis obduxerat, staret. Igitur ad Agin et Cleonem misit, ut, sermone finito, barbaros tantum, cum intrasset, procumberę suo more paterentur, et paulo post, quasi potiora
22 quaedam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis, Polypercon, qui cubabat super regem, unum ex eis mento contingentem humum per ludibrium coepit hortari, ut vehementius id quateret ad terram, elicuitque iram Alexandri quam olim animo
23 capere non poterat. Itaque rex: "Tu autem," inquit, "non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni videmur esse ludibrio?" Ille nec regem ludibrio
24 nec se contemptu dignum esse respondit. Tum detractum eum lecto rex praecipitat in terram et, cum is pronus corruisset: "Videsne," inquit, "idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulo ante ridebas?" Et tradi eo in custodiam iusso convivium solvit.

VI. Polyperconti quidem postea custodito[1] diu ignovit; in Callisthenen olim contumacia suspectum

[1] custodito *Kinch;* castigato *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* viii. 6. 24.

For my part, I admit that they are the victors if we accept from them the laws under which we live."

20 Callisthenes was heard with favourable ears [a] as a defender of the public liberty. He had forced, not only assent, but also words, especially of the older men, to whom the change of their long-standing
21 customs to those of strangers was distasteful. And the king was not unaware of anything that was said on one side and the other, since he was standing behind the curtains which he had caused to be spread round the couches. Therefore he sent word to Agis and Cleo to put an end to the discussion and to allow only the barbarians, when he entered, to prostrate themselves after their custom, and a little later, as if he had transacted some unusually important business,
22 he returned to the banquet. When the Persians paid reverence to him, Polypercon, who was reclining above the king, in mockery began to urge one of them, who touched the ground with his chin, to strike it harder against the earth, and thus aroused the anger of Alexander, which he had already been
23 unable to contain. Accordingly he said: "You, then, will not adore me? To you alone do we seem to be deserving of ridicule?" Polypercon replied that the king did not seem to deserve ridicule, nor he
24 himself contempt. Then the king dragged him from his couch, hurled him to the ground, and when he had fallen on his face, said: "Do you not see that you have done the same thing which a little while before you ridiculed in another?" And ordering that he should be put in prison, he broke up the banquet.

VI. Polypercon, indeed, he pardoned after he had been held in custody for a long time; against Callisthenes, who had formerly been suspected because of

pervicacioris irae fuit. Cuius explendae matura
2 obvenit occasio. Mos erat, ut supra dictum est, principibus Macedonum adultos liberos regibus tradere ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis
3 abhorrentia. Excubabant, servatis noctium vicibus, proximi foribus eius aedis, in qua rex acquiescebat. Per hos pelices introducebantur alio aditu quam
4 quem armati obsidebant. Eidem acceptos ab agasonibus equos, cum rex ascensurus esset, admovebant comitabanturque et venantem et in proeliis, omnibus
5 artibus studiorum liberalium exculti. Praecipuus honor habebatur, quod licebat sedentibus vesci cum rege. Castigandi eos verberibus nulli potestas
6 praeter ipsum erat. Haec cohors velut seminarium ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit; hinc habuere posteri reges, quorum stirpi post multas aetates Romani opes ademerunt.
7 Igitur Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte, cum aprum telo occupasset, quem rex ferire destinaverat, iussu eius verberibus affectus est. Quam ignominiam aegre ferens deflere apud Sostratum
8 coepit. Ex eadem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore eius ardens; qui cum laceratum corpus, in quo deperibat, intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam regi infestus, iuvenem sua sponte iam motum, data fide acceptaque, perpulit, ut occidendi regem consilium

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[a] See v. 1. 42; the custom was established by Philip (Arr. iv. 13. 1); *cf.* Val. Max. iii. 3.

[b] This is a contrast with *servilibus ministeriis* in section 2, but corresponds with *seminarium ducum* in 6.

[c] For a similar use of *seminarium cf.* Cic. *In Cat.* ii. 10. 23.

[d] Arr. iv. 13. 2 gives a different version.

[e] *deflere* is a strong expression, and seems to favour the version of Arrian (see preceding note).

insubordination, his anger was more persistent. For
2 satisfying this an opportunity soon arose. It was the custom, as was said before,[a] for the leading men of the Macedonians to entrust their sons to the king on their coming of age for duties not very different from
3 the services of slaves. They kept watch at night in turn close to the doors of the room in which the king slept. By these youths concubines were brought in by a different entrance from that before which the
4 armed guards were posted. They also received the horses from the grooms, brought them to the reigning king when he was about to mount, and accompanied him in the chase and in battle, besides being thoroughly trained in all the accomplishments of
5 liberal studies. The special honour was paid them of being allowed to sit at table with the king.[b] No one had the power of chastising them by flogging
6 except the king himself. This troupe among the Macedonians was a kind of training-school[c] for generals and governors of provinces; from these also their posterity had the kings from whose stock after many ages the Romans took away all power.
7 So then, Hermolaüs, a high-born boy belonging to this royal band, because he had been first to attack a wild boar[d] which the king had intended to strike, by his order was punished by scourging. Being indignant at this disgrace, he began to complain[e]
8 about it to Sostratus. Sostratus was a member of the same troupe and an ardent lover of Hermolaüs; when he saw the lacerated body of which he was enamoured, perhaps being already angered with the king for some other reason also, he induced Hermolaüs, who was already incensed on his own account, to give and receive a pledge to join with him in form-

9 secum iniret. Nec puerili impetu rem exsecuti sunt; quippe sollerter legerunt, quos in societatem sceleris adsciscerent. Nicostratum, Antipatrum, Asclepiodorumque et Philotan placuit assumi; per hos adiecti
10 sunt Anticles et Aphthonius[1] et Epimenes. Ceterum agendae rei haud sane facilis patebat via; opus erat eadem omnis coniuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii impedirentur, forte autem alius alia
11 nocte excubabat. Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus ceteroque apparatu exsequendae rei, xxx et duo dies absumpti sunt.
12 Aderat nox, qua coniurati excubare debebant, mutua[2] fide laeti, cuius documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat; tanta omnibus
13 vel in regem ira vel fides inter ipsos fuit. Stabant igitur ad fores aedis eius in qua rex vescebatur, ut
14 convivio egressum in cubiculum dęducerent. Sed fortuna ipsius simulque epulantium comitas provexit omnes ad largius vinum; ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus, nunc laetantibus coniuratis, quod sopitum aggressuri essent, nunc sollicitis, ne in lucem
15 convivium extraheret. Quippe alios in stationem oportebat prima luce succedere, ipsorum post septimum diem reditura vice, nec sperare poterant in
16 illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. Ceterum

[1] et Aphthonius *Hedicke;* elaphthonius *P;* elaptonius *C.*
[2] mutua *Giunta;* multa *A.*

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[a] Arr. iv. 13. 4 gives a somewhat different list of names.
[b] See Arr. iv. 13. 4. The number of guards and their duties are uncertain.

9 ing a plot to kill the king. And they did not execute the plan with youthful impetuosity; for they chose with care those whom they would admit as associates in the intended crime. They decided to include Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus and Philotas[a]; through these there were added Anticles and Aphtho-
10 nius and Epimenes. But for carrying out the plan no easy road at all lay open; for it was necessary that all the conspirators should be on guard the same night, in order not to be interfered with by those who were not in the plot, but it happened that they
11 were on watch on different nights. Therefore in changing the order of guard-duty,[b] and in other preparations for carrying out their design, thirty-two days were spent.

12 The night had come on which the conspirators were due to be on guard, rejoicing in their common fidelity, of which the lapse of so many days had been a proof. Not one had hope or fear changed; so great among all was either their anger against the king or their
13 loyalty to one another. They were standing, then, at the door of the room in which the king was dining, in order to escort him to his bedchamber when he
14 had left the table. But his own good fortune, as well as the good company of the diners, led all to be lavish with their wine; games at the banquet also extended the time, while the conspirators now rejoiced because they would attack him when sleepy, and now were anxious lest he should prolong the feast
15 until daylight. For others were due to take their places as guards at dawn, and their turn would not come again until after seven days, and they could not hope that the fidelity of all would endure until
16 that time. But when daylight was already at hand,

cum iam lux appeteret, et convivium solvitur et coniurati exceperunt regem laeti occasionem exsequendi sceleris admotam; cum mulier attonitae, ut creditum est, mentis, conversari in regia solita, quia instinctu videbatur futura praedicere, non occurrit modo abeunti, sed etiam semet obiecit vultuque et oculis motum praeferens animi, ut rediret in con-
17 vivium, monuit. Et ille per ludum, bene deos suadere respondit, revocatisque amicis, in horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit.
18 Iam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant ante cubiculi[1] fores excubituri, adhuc tamen coniurati stabant vice officii sui expleta; adeo pertinax spes
19 est, quam humanae mentes devoraverunt. Rex benignius quam alias allocutus, discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam tota nocte perstitissent, iubet. Data singulis L sestertia, collaudatique,[2] quod, etiam aliis tradita vice, tamen excubare per-
20 severassent. Illi tanta spe destituti, domos abeunt. Et ceteri quidem expectabant stationis suae noctem; Epimenes sive comitate regis, qua ipsum inter coniuratos exceperat, repente mutatus, sive quia coeptis deos obstare credebat, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur
21 aperit. Omnibus Philotae supplicium in oculis erat; itaque protinus inicit fratri manum et in regiam

[1] cubiculi *I;* cubili *A.*
[2] conlaudatique *J. Froben;* conlaudatisque *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 13. 5-6.
[b] Arr. iv. 13. 7 follows a different tradition.

the banquet came to an end and the conspirators received the king, rejoicing that the opportunity was offered for committing their crime, when a woman,[a] of unsound mind, as it was thought, who was accustomed to haunt the royal quarters because she seemed by inspiration to foretell the future, not only met the king as he came out, but put herself in his way, and showing disturbance of mind in her face and eyes, warned him to return to the banquet.
17 He jestingly replied that the gods gave good advice, and recalling his friends, extended the time of the entertainment until nearly the second hour of the day.
18 Now the others of the troupe had taken over their posts, to watch before the door of the king's bedchamber, yet the conspirators remained there, although their turn of duty was completed; so persistent is a hope which human minds have eagerly
19 conceived. The king, addressing them more kindly than usual, bade them go and rest themselves, since they had stood watch all night. He gave each man fifty sestertia and praised them because even after their turn had passed to others they had continued
20 on guard. And they, deprived of their great hope, went to their homes. The others for their part waited for the night of their guard-duty; Epimenes, either because of the affability with which the king had received him along with the other conspirators, or because he believed that the gods opposed their design, had a sudden change of heart and disclosed the plan to his brother Eurylochus,[b] whom before
21 he had wished to have no part in the plot. All had the torture of Philotas before their eyes, and so Eurylochus at once took his brother by the hand and

pervenit, excitatisque custodibus corporis, ad salutem
22 regis pertinere quae afferret affirmat. Et tempus quo venerant et vultus haud sane securi animi index et maestitia e duobus alterius Ptolomaeum ac Leonnatum excubantes ad cubiculi limen excitaverunt. Itaque, apertis foribus et lumine illato, sopitum mero ac somno excitant regem. Ille paulatim mente
23 collecta, quid afferrent interrogat. Nec cunctatus Eurylochus non ex toto domum suam aversari deos dixit, quia frater ipsius, quamquam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et paenitentiam eius ageret et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium; in eam ipsam noctem, quae decederet insidias comparatas fuisse, auctores[1] scelesti consilii esse quos minime
24 crederet rex. Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine consciorumque nomina exponit. Callisthenen non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed solitum puerorum sermonibus vituperantium crimi-
25 nantiumque regem faciles aures praebere. Quidam adiciunt, cum Hermolaus apud eum quoque verberatum se a rege quereretur, dixisse Callisthenen meminisse debere eos iam viros esse; idque ad consolandam patientiam verberum an ad incitandum iuvenum dolorem dictum esset in ambiguo fuisse.
26 Rex animi corporisque sopore discusso, cum tanti periculi quo evaserat[2] imago oculis oberraret, Eury-

[1] auctores *Lauer;* acturos *A.*
[2] evaserat *L m. sec.;* euaserit *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* viii. 9. 30. [b] For *ex toto cf.* Sen. *De Ira* ii. 6.
[c] *p. e. ageret*, a rare form of expression.
[d] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 14. 1.

came into the royal quarters, then having aroused the body-guard, he declared that what he had to say
22 concerned the king's life. Both the time at which he had come and the anxious expression of both brothers, betraying surely a troubled mind, as well as the sadness of one of them, alarmed Ptolemy and Leonnatus, who were on watch at the door of the king's bedchamber. Therefore opening the doors and bringing in a light, they awoke the king whom wine had buried [a] in deep sleep. He gradually collected his thoughts and asked them what they had to
23 say. Without delay Eurylochus said that the gods had not entirely [b] turned against their family, since his brother, although he had dared an impious crime, yet repented of it [c] and through himself rather than anyone else would reveal it; that the conspiracy had been planned for that very night which was passing, the ringleaders of the abominable design were those
24 whom the king would least suspect. Then Epimenes explained everything in order and gave the names of the participants. It is certain that Callisthenes was not named as taking part in the plot,[d] but it was said that he was accustomed to lend ready ears to the boys when they abused the king and criticized
25 his conduct. Some add that when Hermolaüs complained to him also that he had been flogged, Callisthenes had said that they ought to remember that they were now men; but whether that was said to console him for suffering lashes, or to excite the resentment of the youths, was uncertain.

26 The king, awakened in mind and body, when he pictured the great danger which he had escaped,[e] at

[e] For the ablative *cf.* Livy xxi. 33. 5. He also has the accusative.

lochum L talentis et cuiusdam Tiridatis[1] opulentis bonis protinus donat fratremque, antequam pro
27 salute eius precaretur, restituit, sceleris autem auctores interque eos Callisthenen vinctos asservari iubet. Quibus in regiam adductis, toto die et nocte
28 proxima mero ac vigiliis gravis acquievit. Postero autem frequens consilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquique eorum de quibus agebatur intererant, ne de sua quidem salute securi; quippe Macedonum more perire debebant omnium devotis capitibus, qui
29 sanguine contigissent reos.[2] Rex introduci coniuratos praeter Callisthenen iussit; atque quae agitave-
30 rant sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis, eos ipse rex, quo suo merito tantum in semet cogitassent facinus, interrogat.

VII. Stupentibus ceteris Hermolaus: "Nos vero," inquit, "quoniam, quasi nescias, quaeris, occidendi te consilium iniimus,[3] quia non ut ingenuis imperare
2 coepisti, sed quasi in mancipia dominari."[4] Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius Sopolis, parricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse, consurgit, et ad os manu obiecta, scelere et malis insanientem ultra negat
3 audiendum. Rex, inhibito patre, dicere Hermolaum iubet, quae ex magistro didicisset Callisthene. Et Hermolaus: "Utor,"[5] inquit, "beneficio tuo et dico
4 quae nostris malis didici. Quota pars Macedonum saevitiae tuae superest? quotus quidem non e[6]

[1] Tiridatis *Vogel;* tyridatis *A.* [2] reos *Heinse;* eos *A.*
[3] iniimus *Kinch;* inimus *P;* inivimus *C.*
[4] dominari *Vogel;* dominaris *A.*
[5] utor] *the Excerpta Rhenaugiensia* (*R*) *begin with this word.* [6] e *I;* a *AR.*

[a] *Cf.* vi. 11. 20.
[b] *Cf.* x. 7. 2; Cic. *Pro Sest.* xvii. 39; Livy xl. 15. 10.
[c] A Sopolis is mentioned by Arr. iv. 18. 3.

once gave Eurylochus fifty talents and the rich estate of a certain Tiridates and restored his brother to him
27 even before he begged for his life, but the authors of the crime, and among them Callisthenes, he ordered to be kept in fetters. When these had been brought into the royal quarters, since he was wearied by wine and loss of sleep he rested all day and the following
28 night. But on the next day he called a general assembly, at which the fathers and relatives of those concerned were present, who were not without anxiety even for their own lives, for according to the law of the Macedonians [a] they were doomed to die, since the lives of all were forfeit who were related by
29 blood to the guilty parties. The king ordered the conspirators except Callisthenes to be brought in, and without hesitation they confessed what they had
30 planned. Then, when all cried out against them, the king himself asked what he had done to deserve the plotting [b] of such a crime against him.

VII. The rest were struck dumb, but Hermolaüs said: "We verily, since you ask as if you did not know, made a plot to kill you because you have begun, not to rule us as free men, but to lord it over us as if
2 we were slaves." First of all his own father Sopolis,[c] crying out that he was also the murderer of his parent, arose and putting his hand over his son's mouth, declared that one who was crazed by his crime and his misfortunes ought not to have a further hearing.
3 But the king, silencing the father, ordered Hermolaüs to tell what he had learned from his master Callisthenes, and Hermolaüs said: "I take advantage of your favour and tell you what I have learned from
4 our own calamities. How small a part of the Macedonians survive your cruelty; how few too of the

vilissimo sanguine ? Attalus et Philotas et Parmenio et Lyncestes Alexander et Clitus quantum ad hostes pertinet vivunt, stant in acie et[1] clipeis suis te protegunt et pro gloria tua, pro victoria vulnera
5 excipiunt. Quibus tu egregiam gratiam rettulisti ; alius mensam tuam sanguine suo aspersit, alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in eculeum impositi Persis, quos vicerant, fuere spectaculo. Parmenio indicta causa
6 trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia et, quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti subito ab aliis iubes trucidari."
7 Obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao, pater super eum[2] strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubie, ni inhibitus esset a rege ; quippe Hermolaum dicere iussit petiitque,[3] ut causas supplicii augentem patien-
8 ter audirent. Aegre ergo coercitis,[4] rursus Hermolaus : " Quam liberaliter, ' inquit, " pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere permittis ! at Callisthenis vox
9 carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest dicere. Cur enim non producitur, cum etiam confessi audiuntur ? nempe quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis
10 ac ne vultum quidem pateris. Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hic qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt ; nemo est qui conscium fuisse nobis Callisthenen dicat, cum morti olim destinatus sit a

[1] et *Hedicke;* te *A.*
[2] super eum *Hedicke;* supremum *C;* suppremum *AR.*
[3] petiitque *J. Froben;* petitque *AR.*
[4] coercitis *Vindelinus;* coercitus *CR;* cohercitus *P.*

[a] This is not in harmony with iii. 12. 19 and with Curtius' account of the slaying of Clitus ; but it may be a general term. [b] *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 8 ; Cic. *Ad Att.* xiv. 11.

noblest blood? Attalus and Philotas and Parmenion and Lyncestes Alexander and Clitus, so far as our enemies are concerned still live, they stand firm in battle and protect you with their bucklers, and for your glory, for your victory they suffer wounds.
5 These you have magnificently requited; one stained your table [a] with his blood, another died not even a simple death. The leaders of your armies, stretched upon the rack, furnished entertainment to the Persians, whom they had conquered. Parmenion was butchered without a trial, the man through whom you
6 had slain Attalus. For in turn you use the hands of the wretched to inflict death, and those who shortly before served as the tools of your murders you suddenly order to be butchered by others."
7 Thereupon all cried out at Hermolaüs, his father had drawn his sword against him and beyond doubt would have slain him if he had not been prevented by the king; he, however, ordered Hermolaüs to continue, and asked that they should hear with patience one who was adding to the reasons for his punishment.
8 Therefore, when they had been with difficulty restrained, Hermolaüs went on: "How generously," said he, "do you permit boys inexperienced in speaking to plead! But the voice of Callisthenes is shut up in a dungeon, because he alone is able to speak.
9 For why is not he brought before you, when even those who have confessed are heard? No doubt because you fear to hear the free words of an innocent
10 man, and cannot even endure his look. And yet I insist that he is guilty of nothing. They are here who with me planned a glorious deed [b]; there is none who says that Callisthenes was implicated with us, although he has been marked out for death by the

11 iustissimo et patientissimo rege. Haec ergo sunt Macedonum praemia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi xxx milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cum milites nihil domum praeter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint.

12 "Quae tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos barbaris dederes et novo more victores sub iugum mitteres. Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectant, patrios mores exosus es. Persarum ergo, non Macedonum regem occidere voluimus et te transfugam
13 belli iure persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere venerarique te ut deum, tu Philippum patrem aversaris et, si quis deorum ante Iovem
14 haberetur, fastidires etiam Iovem. Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est aut, quod tristius morte est, in servitute viven-
15 dum? Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti, quid ingenui homines ferre non possint. De cetero propinquorum[1] orbam senectutem suppliciis ne oneraveris; nos iube duci ut, quod ex tua morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostra." Haec Hermolaus.

VIII. At rex: "Quam falsa sint,"[2] inquit, "quae iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, patientia mea osten-
2 dit. Confessum enim ultimum facinus tamen non solum ipse audivi, sed ut vos[3] audiretis expressi, non imprudens,[4] cum permisissem latroni huic dicere,

[1] propinquorum *Kinch;* parce quorum *A*.
[2] sint *I;* sunt *AR*.
[3] audivi, sed ut vos *added by Mützell*.
[4] imprudens *Lauer;* impudens *AR*.

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[a] *Cf.* iv. 6. 28.
[b] *duci* is used absolutely in judicial language.

most just and long-suffering of kings. These, then, are the rewards of the Macedonians, whose blood you use up as if it were superabundant and mean. But for you 30,000 mules carry captured gold, while your soldiers will bring home nothing save gratuitous scars.

12 "Yet we could have endured all these things until you delivered us to the barbarians and by a novel fashion made the victors pass under the yoke. It is the Persians' garb and habits that delight you; you have come to loathe the customs of your native land. Therefore it was the king of the Persians, not of the Macedonians, that we wished to kill, and by the law

13 of war we justly pursue you as a deserter. You wished the Macedonians to bow the knee to you[a] and to venerate you as a god, you reject Philip as a father, and if any of the gods were regarded as greater

14 than Jupiter, you would disdain even Jupiter. Do you wonder if we, who are free men, cannot endure your haughtiness? What do we hope for from you, since we must either die when innocent, or, what is more

15 dismal than death, must live in slavery? You truly, if you can have a change of heart, owe much to me. For from me you have begun to know what honourable men cannot endure. For the rest, do not load with punishment the bereaved old age of our near of kin. Order us to be led to execution,[b] so that we may accomplish by our death what we had sought from yours." Thus spoke Hermolaüs.

VIII. But the king replied: "My patience shows how false is what that wretch has said, taught by his

2 master. For although he has pleaded guilty to the worst of crimes, I have not only heard him, but I have compelled you to hear him, knowing well that when I allowed this brigand to speak he would show the same

usurum eum rabie, qua compulsus est, ut me, quem
3 parentis loco colere deberet, vellet occidere. Nuper cum procacius se in venatione gessisset, more patrio et ab antiquissimis Macedoniae regum usurpato, castigari eum iussi. Hoc et oportet[1] fieri et ferunt[2] a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores ; servis quoque
4 pueros huius aetatis verberare concedimus. Haec est saevitia in ipsum mea, quam impia caede voluit ulcisci. Nam in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim non ignaris[3] commemorare supervacuum est.

5 " Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, minime, hercule, admiror. Nam cum Parmenionem et Philotan laudat, suae
6 servit causae. Lyncestem vero Alexandrum, quamvis[4] insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indicibus litterisque[5] suis convictum, per triennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis ut tandem debito supplicio scelus lueret. Attalum, antequam rex essem, hostem meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci ! cuius temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis diutius tuli quam ille
8 eadem me dicentem tulisset. Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modo, sed etiam in illorum qui parent ingeniis sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia ; ubi vero reverentia excessit animis et

[1] oportet *J. Froben;* oportere *A;* oportere eum *R.*
[2] ferunt *Acidalius;* ut *A; R omits.*
[3] ignaris *Hedicke;* ignoratis *AR.*
[4] quamvis *Hedicke;* bis *AR.*
[5] litterisque suis *Hedicke;* liberavi rursus *AR.*

[a] See viii. 6. 7. [b] *Cf.* viii. 6. 2-6, and notes.
[c] When in charge of children.
[d] *Cf.* vii. 1. 5-6. [e] *Cf.* vi. 9. 18.

madness by which he was driven to wish to kill me,
3 whom he ought to have honoured as a father. Lately when he conducted himself so insolently [a] in the chase, I ordered him to be chastised according to the custom of our country, one which was practised by the most ancient of the kings of Macedonia.[b] This both ought to be done, and pupils endure it from their teachers, wives from their husbands ; we allow
4 even slaves [c] to flog boys of his age. This is my cruelty towards him, for which he wished to avenge himself by an impious murder. For towards the rest, who permit me to follow my natural disposition, how mild I am it is superfluous to say to those who are not unaware of it.

5 " That Hermolaüs does not approve the punishments of traitors, since he himself has deserved the same treatment, by Heaven ! I am not at all surprised. For when he praises Philotas and Parmenion,
6 he is helping his own cause. As for Lyncestes Alexander,[d] although he was convicted by two witnesses and by his own letter of having plotted against my life, I put off his punishment for three years, until you demanded that at last he should atone for his crime by the penalty which he had deserved.
7 Attalus,[e] before I became king you remember to have been an enemy to my life. As for Clitus, would that he had not forced me to be angry with him ! I endured his rash tongue, as he abused you and me, longer than he would have put up with me if I had
8 said the same things. The clemency of kings and leaders depends not only upon their own dispositions, but also upon those of their subjects. Commands are made mild by obedience, but when men's minds have lost reverence and no distinction is observed between

summa imis confunduntur,[1] vi opus est, ut vim repel-
9 lamus. Sed quid ego mirer istum crudelitatem mihi obiecisse, qui avaritiam exprobrare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrum excitare, ne invisam mihi liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum aspicite; qui paulo ante nihil praeter arma habebat, nunc argenteis cubat lectis, mensas auro onerant, servorum greges ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt.

10 "At enim Persae, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Mihi[2] quidem moderationis meae certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbe impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes nec ut dimidiam partem terrarum solitudinem facerem, sed ut illos quos bello
11 subegissem victoriae meae non paeniteret. Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt qui superbe habiti rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur; bene-
12 ficiorum gratia sempiterna est. Si habere Asiam, non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia; horum fides stabile et aeternum faciet imperium. Et sane plus habemus, quam capimus.[3] Insatiabilis autem avaritiae est adhuc
13 implere velle quod iam circumfluit. Morem[4] tamen

[1] confunduntur *Mützell;* confundimus *AR.*
[2] Mihi *added by Hedicke.*
[3] capimus *Acidalius;* cupimus *AR.*
[4] Morem *Hedicke;* uerum *AR.*

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[a] An exaggeration, so far as the common soldiers are concerned.

[b] *Inducimur* is judicial language, as in *inducimur in possessionem.*

the highest and the lowest, force is needed to resist
9 force. But why should I wonder that that fellow has charged me with cruelty when he has dared to reproach me with avarice? I am unwilling to call you up one by one, for fear of making my generosity odious to me, if I make it offensive to your modesty. Just look at our whole army; those who before had nothing except their arms now sleep on silver couches, load their tables with gold, possess troupes of slaves,[a] and cannot carry the weight of the spoils taken from the enemy!

10 "But, he says, the Persians, whom we have conquered, are in high honour with me! In my opinion at least, the surest indication of my moderation is that I do not rule even the vanquished tyrannically. For I came into Asia, not in order to overthrow nations and make a desert of a half part of the world, but in order that those whom I had subdued in war
11 might not regret my victory. Therefore those are serving in the army with you and are shedding blood in defence of your empire, who, if they had been treated tyrannically would have rebelled. That possession is not lasting of which we are made owners [b] by the sword; the gratitude for acts of
12 kindness is everlasting. If we wish to hold Asia, not merely to pass through it, our [c] clemency must be shared with its people; their faith in us will make a stable and lasting empire. And it is certainly true that we have more than we can carry. But it is the way of insatiable avarice to wish to fill still fuller a
13 vessel which is already overflowing. Yet I am accused of transferring the customs of the vanquished to the

[c] *nostra* is plural of majesty, referring to Alexander, although *volumus* refers to the Macedonians as a whole.

eorum in Macedonas transfundo![1] In multis enim gentibus esse video quae non erubescamus imitari; nec aliter tantum imperium apte regi potest, quam ut quaedam et tradamus illis et ab eisdem discamus.

14 "Illud paene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me ut aversarer Iovem cuius oraculo agnoscor. An etiam, quid di respondeant in mea 15 potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi; recipere ipsis rebus quas agimus haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque deum esse me credant! Fama enim bella constant, et saepe etiam, quod falso creditum 16 est veri vicem obtinuit. An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Assuetis nihil vilius hac videre materia volui ostendere, Macedonas invictos ceteris ne auro quidem 17 vinci. Oculos ergo primum eorum sordida omnia et humilia despectantium[2] capiam, et docebo nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venire. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti et Macedonas, rege adempto, devictis gentibus dedere.

18 "At nunc mones me ut vestris parentibus parcam! Non oportebat quidem vos scire quid de his statuissem, quo tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est; sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos parentesque solvi,

[1] transfundo *Giunta;* transeundo *AR.*
[2] despectantium *Bentley;* spectantium *AR.*

[a] This absolute use of *agnoscor* is rare.
[b] *Cf.* vi. 11. 20.

Macedonians! True, for I see in many nations things which we should not blush to imitate; and so great an empire cannot fitly be ruled without contributing some things to the vanquished and learning from them.

14 "That was almost enough to make one laugh, when Hermolaüs demanded of me that I should oppose Jupiter by whose oracle I am recognized as his son.[a] Have I control even of the responses of the
15 gods? He offered me the title of son; to accept it was not unfavourable to the very plans in which we are engaged. Would that the people of India may believe me to be a god. For wars depend upon reputation, and often even what has been falsely
16 believed has gained the place of truth. Do you think it was to gratify my luxury that I adorned your arms with gold and silver? I wished to show to those who are accustomed to nothing cheaper than those metals that the Macedonians, who are invincible in other things, cannot be outdone even in gold.
17 Therefore I will first of all captivate the eyes of those who despise everything that is usual and humble and will show them that we are coming, not because we are desirous of gold and silver, but to subdue the whole world. It is this glory, parricide that you are, that you wished to interrupt and to deliver the Macedonians to the conquered nations by killing their king!

18 "But now you urge me to spare your relatives! You all certainly ought not to have known what I had resolved to do about them, in order that you might die with greater grief, if you have any memory and regard for your near of kin; but I long ago abandoned[b] that custom to which you refer, of killing the innocent kinsmen and relatives along with the

et profiteor in eodem honore futuros omnes eos in
19 quo fuerunt. Nam tuum[1] Callisthenen, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio cur produci velis ut coram his probra, quae in me modo iecisti, modo audisti, illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum ; nunc Olynthio non idem iuris est."

20 Post haec consilium dimisit tradique damnatos hominibus qui ex eadem cohorte erant iussit. Illi, ut fidem suam saevitia regi approbarent, excruciatos
21 necaverunt. Callisthenes quoque tortus interiit, initi consilii in caput regis innoxius, sed haudquaquam[2]
22 aulae et assentantium accommodatus ingenio. Itaque nullius caedes maiorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod praeditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat cum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit,
23 sed etiam torserit, indicta quidem causa. Quam crudelitatem sera paenitentia consecuta est.

IX. Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quam post victoriam
2 clarior. India tota ferme spectat orientem, minus
3 in latitudinem quam recta regione spatiosa. Quae

[1] tuum *Vindelinus;* cum *PRV m. pr.;* tuum cum *BFLV corr.*

[2] haudquaquam] utquaquam *PR;* haudquam *F.*

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[a] That is, of being admitted to a council of Macedonians.

[b] Varying accounts of his death are given by Arr. iv. 14. 3 and others.

guilty parties, and I guarantee that they will all
19 hold the same rank that they had before. Now as to your Callisthenes, to whom alone you seem to be a man because you are an assassin, I know why you wish him to be given audience; it is that in the presence of this company those reproaches which you have sometimes hurled at me and sometimes heard may be repeated from his lips. If he were a Macedonian, I should have presented him along with you, a master most worthy of such a pupil; as it is, being an Olynthian, he has not the same privilege." [a]
20 After these words he dismissed the assembly, and ordered those who had been condemned to be handed over to the men who belonged to the same cohort. They put them to death with torments, in order by
21 cruelty to show their loyalty to the king. Callisthenes [b] also expired in torture, although he was guiltless of forming any design against the king's life; but he was by no means suited to a court and to the character
22 of flatterers. Therefore there was no one whose death roused greater hatred of the king among the Greeks, because he had not only put to death a man endowed with noble character and accomplishments, one who had called him back to life when he had resolved to die after the death of Clitus, but had
23 even tortured him, and that without a trial. This act of cruelty, when it was too late, was followed by repentance.

IX. But in order not to foster idleness, which naturally sows gossip, he set out for India, being always more illustrious in war than after a victory.
2 Almost all India looks towards the east, being less
3 extensive in width than in a straight line.[c] The

[c] *Cf. recta plaga*, vi. 2. 13.

austrum accipiunt in altius terrae fastigium excedunt; plana sunt cetera, multisque inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis, placidum per campos iter
4 praebent. Indus gelidior est quam ceteri; aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes.
5 Ganges, omnium ab Oriente fluvius maximus,[1] ad meridianam regionem[2] decurrit et magnorum mon-
6 tium iuga recto alveo stringit; inde[3] eum obiectae rupes inclinant ad orientem. Uterque Rubro mari accipitur. Indus[4] ripas multasque arbores cum
7 magna soli parte exsorbet, saxis quoque impeditus, quis[5] crebro reverberatur; ubi mollius solum repperit, stagnat insulasque molitur. Acesines eum[6] auget.
8 Ganges decursurum Iomanen[7] intercipit, magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur; quippe Ganges asperum os influenti obicit, nec repercussae aquae
9 cedunt. Diardines minus celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit; ceterum non crocodillos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis
10 gentibus beluas alit. Ethymantus, crebris flexibus subinde curvatus, ab accolis rigantibus campos[8] carpitur; ea causa est cur tenues reliquias iam sine nomine
11 in mare emittat. Multis praeter hos amnibus tota

[1] maximus *Modius;* eximiis *P;* exnmiis *R;* eximius *C.*
[2] ad meridianam regionem *Freinshem;* a meridiana regione *A;* a meridiana oregione *R.*
[3] inde *Freinshem;* in *AR.*
[4] Indus *Bentley;* findens *AR.*
[5] quis *Mützell;* quia *CP m. sec. R;* qua *P m. pr.*
[6] Acesines eum *Erasmus;* acesineum *AR.*

parts which receive the south wind rise to a higher level of ground; the rest of the country is flat and allows a quiet course through plains to many famous
4 rivers rising in Mount Caucasus.[a] The Indus is colder than the rest; it carries waters which do not
5 differ much from the sea in colour. The Ganges, greatest of all the rivers of the Orient, flows towards the south and in a straight channel grazes the great
6 mountain ranges. Then rocks in its course deflect it towards the east. Both rivers flow into the Red Sea.[b] The Indus carries away its banks along with many
7 trees and a great part of the soil, and is also checked by rocks, from which it often rebounds; where it finds a softer soil it is quiet, and forms islands. The
8 Acesines[c] increases it. The Ganges intercepts the Iomanes[d] in its downward course, and the two unite with a great commotion of their waters; for the Ganges opposes a rough mouth to the inflowing river and the waters which are hurled back do not yield.
9 The Diardines[e] is less frequently heard of, because it runs through the remotest part of India, but it breeds not only crocodiles, as does the Nile, but also dolphins
10 and sea beasts unknown to other nations. The Ethymantus, curved from time to time into many windings, is made use of by the neighbouring peoples for irrigating their fields; that is why it sends out scanty remains of its waters, now without a name,
11 into the sea. The whole region is cut up by many

[a] Here refers to all the range north of India, which had several names.
[b] See iii. 2. 9, note.
[c] The modern Chenab.
[d] The modern Jumnâ.
[e] The Brahmaputra.

[7] Iomanen *Hedicke;* in mare *A.*
[8] campos *added by Hedicke.*

regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, quia non adita[1] interfluunt.

12 Ceterum quae propiora sunt mari aquilone maxime deuruntur[2]; is[3] cohibitus iugis montium, ad interiora
13 non penetrat, ita alendis frugibus mitia.[4] Sed adeo in illa plaga mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus existat. Nec, cur verterit[5] se Natura,
14 causa. Mare certe quo[6] alluitur ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen; propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt.
15 Terra lini ferax; inde plerisque sunt vestes. Libri arborum teneri haud secus quam chartae litterarum
16 notas capiunt. Aves ad imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt. Animalia invisitata ceteris
17 gentibus nisi invecta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas aliis ignotos[7] generat. Elephantorum maior est vis quam quos in Africa domitant, et viribus magni-
18 tudo respondet. Aurum flumina vehunt, quae leni
19 modicoque lapsu segnes aquas ducunt. Gemmas margaritasque mare litoribus infundit; neque alia illis maior opulentiae causa est, utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteras gentes.

[1] adita *Bentley;* adeo *AR.*
[2] aquilone maxime deuruntur *Foss;* aquiloni maxime decurrunt *AR.*
[3] is *Zumpt;* his *AR.*
[4] mitia *Acidalius;* mitis *AR.*
[5] verterit *Novák;* ubi *C;* ibi *P;* ubri *R.*
[6] quo *Giunta;* quod *AR.*
[7] aliis ignotos *Hedicke;* alit non *AR.*

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[a] Sixty, according to Seneca in Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 17. 21.
[b] Or Erythras; Strabo xvi. 3. 5; Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 13. 28; Arr. *Indica* xxxvii. 3; Pliny, *N.H.* xix. 1. 2.
[c] Probably cotton is meant.

rivers [a] besides these, but they are unknown to fame, because they flow through regions unapproached as yet by us.

12 But the parts which are nearer the sea are greatly parched by the north wind; this is checked by the mountain ranges and does not penetrate into the interior, which in consequence is mild for bearing
13 fruits. But in that quarter the earth so varies the established order of the seasons that when other places are burning with the heat of the sun, snows bury India, and on the other hand, when other places are stiff with frost, intolerable heat prevails there. Nor is there any reason why Nature should have changed her
14 course. Certainly the sea by which India is washed does not differ even in colour from other seas. Its name was given it from King Erythrus [b]; for which reason the ignorant believe that its waters are red.
15 The land is rich in flax [c]; hence the greater number of the people wear garments. The bark of the trees is tender and can receive writing just as papyrus
16 does.[d] There are birds which can be taught to imitate the sound of the human voice.[e] The animals are unknown to other nations, except such as are im-
17 ported from that country. The same land produces rhinoceroses, which are unknown to other peoples. The strength of its elephants is greater [f] than those which men tame in Africa, and their size corresponds
18 to their strength. The rivers which flow sluggishly
19 in a mild and moderate course carry gold. The sea casts upon its shores gems and pearls; and they have no greater source of wealth, especially since they have made their vices common among foreign nations.

[a] The most ancient writing was on palm leaves.
[c] *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* x. 42. 55. [f] Strabo xv. 1. 44.

Quippe aestimantur purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio quod libido constituit.

20 Ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos locorum
21 quoque situs format. Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt, lapilli ex auribus pendent; brachia quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes
22 eminent. Capillum pectunt saepius quam tondent; mentum semper intonsum est, reliquam oris cutem
23 ad speciem levitatis exaequant. Regum tamen luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. Cum rex semet[1] in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt totumque iter per quod ferri destinavit odoribus com-
24 plent. Aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat; distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa quae indutus est; lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque
25 custodes, inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu
26 seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. Regia auratas columnas habet; totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent, argenteae effigies opera distinguunt.[2]

27 Regia adeuntibus patet, cum capillum pectit atque ornat; tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit. Demptis soleis, odoribus illinuntur
28 pedes. Venatus maximus labor est inclusa vivario

[1] semet *Foss;* sene *PR;* sane *C.*
[2] distinguunt *I;* distinguunt *AR.*

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[a] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvii. 6. 23; ix. 35. 60.
[b] See note *c* on p. 306.
[c] The connexion is not very clear, but *cf.* Strabo xv. 1. 69.

Indeed this refuse of the surging sea is valued at the price which desire sets upon it. [a]

20 There, as everywhere, so also with them, the situation of the country affects the character of the men.
21 They veil their bodies in linen robes as far as the feet, clothe their feet in sandals, bind their heads in linen, and precious stones hang from their ears; those who are eminent among the people for high birth or wealth adorn their wrists also and arms with gold.
22 They comb their hair more frequently than they shear it; the chin is always unshorn, the rest of the skin of the face they shave close, so that it appears
23 smooth. Nevertheless the luxury of their kings, which they themselves call magnificence, surpasses the vices of all other nations. When the king allows himself to be seen in public, his attendants carry before him silver pans of incense, and fill with perfumes the whole road over which he has decided to be
24 borne. He reclines in a golden litter adorned with pearls hanging on every side; the linen [b] robe which he wears is embroidered with gold and purple; his litter is followed by armed men and by his body-guard,
25 among whom [c] on branches of trees birds perch, which they have trained by song to divert him from
26 serious affairs. His palace has gilded columns; over all of these runs a vine carved in gold, and silver figures of birds, in the sight of which they take the greatest pleasure, adorn the structure.
27 The palace is open to all comers, when the king is having his hair combed and adorned; it is then that he gives replies to deputations, then that he administers justice to his countrymen. When his sandals are taken off, his feet are bathed in perfumes.
28 His favourite exercise is the chase, which consists in

animalia inter vota cantusque pelicum figere. Binum cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nisu quam effectu; quippe telum, cuius in levitate vis
29 omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. Breviora itinera equo conficit; longior ubi expeditio est, elephanti vehunt currum, et tantarum beluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac, ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pelicum longus ordo sequitur; separatum a reginae ordine agmen est
30 aequatque luxuriam. Feminae epulas parant. Ab eisdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum, in cubiculum pelices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos.

31 Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quod sapientes
32 vocant. Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari iubent quibus aut segnis[1] aetas aut incommoda valetudo est; exspectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur; inquinari putant ignem,
33 nisi qui spirantes[2] recipit. Illi, qui in urbibus publicis muneribus[3] degunt, siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futura praedicere. Nec quemquam

[1] aut segnis *J. Froben;* autem segnis *AR* (autem segnes *P m. pr. V m. pr.*).
[2] spirantes *R;* sperantes *A*.
[3] muneribus *Hedicke;* moribus *A*.

[a] *i.e.* for his success. [b] *Cf.* viii. 14. 19.
[c] Curtius does not take account of the lighter material.
[d] Perhaps Indras is thought of, the god of the entire heaven and the stars.

shooting with arrows animals shut up in a preserve, amid the prayers [a] and songs of his concubines. The arrows are two cubits in length, and they discharge them with more effort than effect [b]; for a weapon whose whole power depends upon lightness is bur-
29 dened by its unsuitable weight.[c] Shorter journeys he makes on horseback; when he undertakes a longer expedition, he rides in a chariot drawn by elephants, and the entire bodies of such huge brutes are covered with gold. Also, that nothing may be lacking in his abandoned habits, a long line of concubines follows in golden litters; this train is separated from that of the queen, but equals it in luxury.
30 Women prepare his food. They also serve his wine, the use of which is lavish with all the Indian peoples. When the king is overcome by wine and drowsiness, concubines take him to his chamber, invoking the gods of the night [d] in a song, after the custom of the country.
31 Who would believe that amid such vices there would be regard for philosophy? There is one rude
32 and hideous class which they call sages.[e] These consider it glorious to anticipate the day of fate,[f] and those whose life is feeble or whose health is impaired give orders to be burned alive; to wait for death they regard as a disgrace to life, and no honour is paid to the bodies of those who die of old age; they believe that the fire [g] is sullied unless it receives
33 them while still breathing. Those who pass their lives in public services in the city are said skilfully to study the courses of the stars and to predict future

[e] Probably the sect of gymnosophists, similar to the modern *yogi*.

[f] See Strabo xv. 1. 68.

[g] Of the funeral pyre.

admovere leti diem credunt cui exspectare interrito
34 liceat. Deos putant quidquid colere coeperunt,
35 arbores maxime, quas violare capital est. Menses in quinos denos discripserunt[1] dies, anni plena spatia
36 servantur. Lunae cursu notant tempora, non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus implevit, sed cum se curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, quia[2] spatium eorum ad hunc lunae modum
37 dirigunt. Multa et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sane operae[3] videbatur.

X. Igitur Alexandro finis Indiae ingresso, gentium finitimarum[4] reguli occurrerunt, imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes; Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama
2 cognitos esse, ipsum coram adesse cernique. Rex benigne exceptos sequi iussit, eisdem itinerum ducibus usurus.[5] Ceterum cum amplius nemo occurreret, Hephaestionem et Perdiccan cum copiarum parte praemisit ad subigendos qui aversarentur imperium, iussitque ad flumen Indum procedere et navigia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus.

[1] discripserunt *Hedicke;* descripserunt *AR.*
[2] quia *Koehler;* qui *A.*
[3] sane operae *Giunta;* sine opere *AR.*
[4] finitimarum *Hedicke;* suarum *AR.*
[5] usurus] *frag. R ends with this word.*

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[a] Thus differing from the *agreste genus* of section 31.

[b] Each month being divided into two halves; see Bohlen, *Indien* ii. p. 287.

[c] A solar year, consisting of twelve months of 30, 31, and 29 days; in all, 365 days, 15 hours, 31 minutes, and 15 seconds; Bohlen, *l.c.* ii. pp. 284 f.

[d] We find *operae est* in the sense of *vacat* in Livy iv. 8. 3 and elsewhere.

[e] Curtius omits the account of the march from Bactra

events. And they believe that no one hastens the
34 day of death who can wait for it unterrified.[a] They regard as gods whatever they have begun to care for, especially trees, the violation of which is a capital
35 offence. They have divided the months into periods of fifteen days,[b] but the full duration of the year is
36 observed.[c] They reckon time by the course of the moon, not, as most do, when it has filled its orb, but when it has begun to curve into horns, and therefore they have shorter months, because they reckon their
37 duration according to that phase of the moon. Also many other things are related, for which there did not seem to be time[d] to delay the course of our history.

X. So, then, when Alexander had entered the bounds of India,[e] the petty kings of the neighbouring races met him intending to submit to him, saying[f] that he was the third son of Jupiter who had arrived in their land; that Father Liber and Hercules were known to them only by repute, but that Alexander
2 was present among them and was seen. The king received them courteously and bade them follow him, intending to use them as guides for his routes. But when no one else presented himself, he sent on Hephaestion and Perdiccas[g] with a part of his forces to subdue those who rejected his rule, and ordered them to proceed to the Indus River and make boats by which his army could be transported to places

through the Cabul valley (Arr. iv. 22. 3-4). *Fines Indiae* shows that the writers whom Curtius followed count the mountain range which separates Iran from India as a part of India.

[f] Strabo xv. 1. 9 says that this came from his flatterers, to whom many of his older historians belonged.

[g] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 22. 7.

3 Illi, quia plura flumina superanda erant, sic iunxere naves ut solutae plaustris vehi possent rursusque
4 coniungi. Ipse,[1] Cratero cum phalange iusso sequi, equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit, eosque qui occurrerunt levi proelio in urbem proximam compulit.
5 Iam supervenerat Craterus; itaque, ut principio terrorem incuteret genti nondum arma Macedonum expertae, praecipit ne cui parceretur munimentis
6 urbis quam obsidebat incensis. Ceterum, dum obequitat moenibus, sagitta ictus. Cepit tamen oppidum, et, omnibus incolis eius trucidatis, etiam in tecta saevitum est.
7 Inde, domita ignobili gente, ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Forte, castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positis, nocturnum frigus vehementius quam alias horrore corpora affecit, opportunumque re-
8 medium ignis oblatum est. Caesis quippe silvis, flammam excitaverunt, quae lignis[2] alita oppidanorum sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia
9 solo aequata sunt. Et ex urbe primum canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tunc et oppidani hostem et Macedones ad urbem
10 ipsos venisse cognoscunt. Iamque rex eduxerat copias et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium qui dis-

[1] Ipse *Stangl;* post se *A.* [2] lignis *Faber;* igni *A.*

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[a] More exactly Arr. iv. 23. 1.

[b] Arr. iv. 23. 3 puts the city east, Curtius west, of the Choaspes (the Attock).

[c] *Cf.* Livy xxx. 31. 10 *in delubra saevisse.*

[d] Because of the elevation, not the season.

3 farther on. Those men, because several other rivers had to be crossed, joined ships together, but in such a way that they could be taken apart and carried on
4 wagons and again joined together. He himself after having directed Craterus to follow with the phalanx led out the cavalry and the light-armed troops,[a] and in a slight battle drove those who
5 opposed him into the nearest city.[b] And now Craterus had arrived; and so, in order in the beginning to strike with terror a nation which had not yet experienced the arms of the Macedonians, the king ordered him to spare no one, having set fire to the
6 fortifications of the city which he was besieging. But while Alexander was riding up to the walls he was struck by an arrow. Nevertheless he took the town, and having butchered all its inhabitants, even vented his anger on its buildings.[c]

7 Next, after subduing this unknown people, he came to the city of Nysa. It chanced that when he had pitched a camp before the very walls in a wooded place, a coldness severer than they had experienced at any other time[d] chilled their bodies, and fire offered
8 a convenient remedy. Therefore they cut down trees and raised a flame, which, fed by logs, caught the sepulchres of the inhabitants. These had been built of old cedar, and widely spread the fire which had been started, until all were levelled with the
9 ground. And from the city first the barking of dogs, then the noise of men was heard. Then the townspeople knew that the enemy had come, and the Macedonians themselves, that they had reached the
10 city. And already the king had led out his troops and was laying siege to the place, when those of the enemy who had attempted a sortie were over-

crimen temptaverant obruti telis sunt. Aliis ergo deditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat.

Quorum dubitatione comperta, circumsederi tan-
11 tum eos et abstineri caedibus iussit; tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati, dedidere[1] se. A Libero Patre conditos se esse dicebant; et vera haec origo
12 erat. Sita est urbs[2] sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae appellant; inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum Patrem esse
13 celatum. Rex, situ montis cognito ex incolis, cum toto exercitu, praemissis commeatibus, verticem eius ascendit. Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur
14 monte, multae perennes aquae manant. Pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt, sua sponte fortuitorum germinum[3] fruges humo nutriente. Lauri buxique[4] et myrti[5] in illis rupibus agrestis est silva.
15 Credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos ut passim hederae ac vitium folia decerperent redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bac-
16 chantibus vagarentur. Vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis vallesque[6] resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut
17 fere fit, in omnes se repente[7] vulgasset. Quippe velut in media pace per herbas aggestamque frondem

[1] dedidere *B m. sec.;* dedere *A.*
[2] urbs *added by Eberhard.*
[3] germinum *Heinse;* segeminum *B m. pr. P;* seugeminum *V;* seugerminum *B m. sec. FL corr.*
[4] buxique *Hedicke;* baceque *PV;* bacaeque *BFL.*
[5] myrti *Hedicke;* multa *A.*
[6] vallesque *Hedicke;* collesque *A.*
[7] omnes se repente *Giunta;* homines serpente *A* (homines serpentes *F*).

[a] Gk. μηρός, "thigh."

whelmed by weapons. In consequence some favoured surrender, others the trial of battle.

When their hesitation became known, Alexander directed that they should merely be beleaguered and
11 not killed, and at last, exhausted by the hardships of a siege, they gave themselves up. They said that they had been founded by Father Liber; and this
12 was in fact their origin. The city is situated at the foot of a mountain which the natives call Meros [a]; from this the Greeks took the liberty of inventing the fable [b] that Father Liber had been hidden in the
13 thigh of Jupiter. Alexander, having learned from the natives the situation of the mountain, had supplies sent in advance, and ascended to its summit [c] with his whole army. Ivy and vines in abundance grow all over the height, and many perennial springs
14 gush forth. There are also fruits of a varied and wholesome flavour, since the earth without cultivation produces crops from the seeds that chance to fall there. Laurel, box, and myrtle form a natural grove
15 on those rocks. Carried away, as I for my part believe, not by divine inspiration but by a spirit of playfulness, they plucked the foliage of the ivy and the vines everywhere, and wreathed with garlands made from the leaves, wandered here and there through the whole grove like so many bacchantes.
16 Hence the mountain heights and valleys rang with the shouts of so many thousands, as they invoked the god who presided over that grove, since as soon as this wantonness was begun by a few, as commonly happens it quickly spread to the whole company.
17 In fact, as if they were in full enjoyment of peace, they threw themselves on the grass and the leaves

[b] See Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 21. 23. [c] *Cf.* Arr. v. 2. 5.

prostravere corpora. Et rex, fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus, large ad epulas omnibus praebitis, per x dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum.
18 Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium? Quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero aggredi ausus est hostis, haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus quam si proeliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium texit.
19 Hinc ad regionem quae Daedala vocatur perventum est. Deseruerant incolae sedes et in avios silvestresque montes confugerant. Ergo Acadira transit aeque[1] vasta[2] et destituta incolentium fuga.
20 Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis, pluribus simul locis arma ostendit, oppressisque ubi[3] non exspectaverant hostem omni clade
21 perdomiti sunt. Ptolomaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit; rursusque quas distribuerat copias iunxit.
22 Superato deinde Choaspe amne Coenon in obsidione urbis opulentae—Beiram incolae vocant—reliquit, ipse ad Mazagas venit. Nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo, regioni urbique

[1] aeque *J. Froben;* atque *A.*
[2] vasta *Acidalius;* usta *A.* [3] ubi *Bongars;* urbi *A.*

[a] *Cf.* Tibull. ii. 6. 95.
[b] *i.e.* from the Indus mouth through southern Iran; see ix. 10. 24 ff.; for the language *cf.* ix. 10. 26; Livy ix. 17. 17.
[c] See *montes Daedalos*, Justin xii. 7; otherwise unknown.
[d] Otherwise unknown: *cf.* Arr. iv. 33. 5 Ἀνδακα.
[e] See Arr. iv. 24 ff., who apparently follows Ptolemy's own account. [f] The modern Attock.
[g] See Arr. iv. 27. 5, who calls it Bazira. Its location is unknown.

that they had heaped together. And the king, not averse to this opportunity for revelry, furnished in abundance everything needed for feasting, and for ten days kept the army engaged in the service of
18 Bacchus.[a] Who would deny that distinguished glory also is more often the gift of Fortune than of merit? For the enemy did not venture to attack them even while they were feasting or in a drunken sleep, being as greatly terrified by the noise of their rioting and howling as if they had heard the shouts of men going to battle. The same good fortune on their return from the Ocean protected them in their drunken revelry before the faces of their enemies.[b]

19 From here they came to the region which is called Daedala.[c] The inhabitants had deserted their homes and had fled to the inaccessible and forest-covered mountains. Accordingly the king passed by Acadira,[d] which was equally abandoned and deserted by the
20 flight of its inhabitants. And so necessity changed his plan for war. For dividing his forces, he showed his arms in many places at the same time, and when the natives had been crushed where they had not looked for the enemy, they were thoroughly subdued
21 through general bloodshed. Ptolemy took the most cities,[e] Alexander the greatest; then the king united again the forces which he had distributed.

22 Next, having passed over the Choaspes[f] River, he left Coenus engaged in the siege of a rich city—the inhabitants call it Beira[g]—and he himself came to the country of the Mazagae.[h] Assacenus, whose realm it had been, had lately died, and his mother

[h] Arr. iv. 26. 1, who has (τὰ) Μάσσαγα. It was the largest city of the Assaceni, at the junction of the Cabul and the Indus.

23 praeerat mater eius Cleophis. xxxviii milia peditum tuebantur urbem non situ solum, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui praeruptis utrimque ripis aditum ad
24 urbem impedit. Ad occidentem ac meridiem[1] veluti[2] de industria rupes praealtas obmolita natura est, infra quas cavernae et voragines longa vetustate in altum cavatae iacent, quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis
25 operis obiecta est. xxxv stadium[3] murus urbem complectitur, cuius ima[4] saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet,
26 simulque terra humore diluta. Ne tamen universa consideret, impositae erant trabes validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tegebant et pervios fecerant.
27 Haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum consiliique incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat implere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere,
28 quidam e muro sagitta percussit; et[5] forte in suram incidit telum. Cuius spiculo evolso, admoveri equum iussit, quo vectus, ne obligato quidem vulnere, haud
29 segnius destinata exsequebatur. Ceterum cum crus saucium penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus aggravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur se quidem Iovis

[1] ac meridiem *Kinch;* a meridie *P;* et a meridie *C.*
[2] veluti *Hedicke;* uelut in *P m. pr.* uelut *C.*
[3] stadium *Zumpt;* stadia *A.*
[4] ima *Vogel;* iam *P;* inferiora *C.*
[5] et *Hedicke;* cum *P;* tum *C.*

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[a] Arr. iv. 25. 5 says "over 30,000."
[b] *Cf.* Plut. *Alex.* xxviii.

23 Cleophis ruled the city and the region. The city was garrisoned by 38,000 infantry [a] and was fortified, not only by its situation, but also by art. For where it looks towards the east it is girt by a very rapid river, which, having precipitous banks on both sides, makes
24 approach to the city difficult. Towards the west and the south Nature, as if by design, has thrown up towering crags, below which lie caverns and abysses which have been deeply hollowed by long lapse of time, and where these are lacking ditches have been
25 interposed with enormous labour. The city is surrounded by a wall of thirty-five stadia, the lower part of which is constructed of stone, the upper part of sun-dried brick. The brick work is so bound together by stones which they have interposed and at the same time by earth soaked in water, that the weaker part
26 rests on a stronger material. Nevertheless, in order that the whole structure might not settle, strong beams were placed upon it, on which galleries were raised, which both protected the walls and at the same time afforded a passage through them.
27 As Alexander was reconnoitring these fortifications and was uncertain what to do, since he could not fill up the caverns except by a mound, nor move up his siege-engines to the walls in any other way, someone from the wall shot at him with an arrow, and, as it happened, the weapon struck him in the
28 calf of his leg. When the barb had been pulled out he ordered a horse to be brought and riding upon it, without even binding up the wound, he continued no less vigorously to carry on what he had undertaken.
29 But since the wounded leg hung down, and when the blood dried the stiffening of the wound aggravated the pain, he is reported to have said [b] that he was

30 filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. Non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit et quae fieri vellet edixit. Ergo, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta demoliebantur[1] ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant, alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis[2] ac
31 moles saxorum in cavernas deiciebant. Iamque agger aequaverat summae fastigium terrae ; itaque turres erigebantur,[3] quae opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt.

Ad ea visenda rex, nondum obducta vulneri cicatrice, processit, laudatisque militibus, admoveri machinas iussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in pro-
32 pugnatores effusa est. Praecipue rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres, tantasque moles, nulla ope quae cerneretur adiutas, deorum numine agi credebant ; pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas negabant convenire
33 mortalibus. Itaque, desperata urbis tutela, concessere in arcem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis praeter deditionem patebat,[4] legati ad regem descenderunt,
34 veniam petituri. Qua impetrata, regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina
35 libantium. Ipsa, genibus regis parvo filio admoto, non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae impetravit decus ; quippe appellata regina est. Et

[1] demoliebantur *Giunta;* em. *P;* am. *C.*
[2] cum ramis *Freinshem;* cumulis *A.*
[3] erigebantur *P;* erigebant *C.*
[4] patebat *Eberhard;* placebat *A.*

indeed called the son of Jupiter, but that he felt the
30 effects of an ailing body. Yet he did not return to the camp until he had carefully examined everything and had ordered what he wished to be done. Accordingly, just as had been commanded, some were demolishing the houses outside the city and were bringing a great amount of timber for making the mound; others were throwing trunks of great trees, with their branches, and masses of stone into the
31 caverns. And already the mound had risen to the level of the surface of the ground; therefore they erected towers, and such was the ardour of the soldiers that these tasks were finished within the ninth day.

To inspect these works the king went out before a scab had covered his wound, and after praising the soldiers he ordered them to push forward the siege-engines, from which a mighty mass of weapons was
32 poured upon the defenders. The movable towers especially terrified men who were unacquainted with such devices, and they believed that such massive structures, aided by no visible power, were moved by the will of the gods; the mural pikes also, and the heavy spears hurled by the engines, they said
33 were not compatible with mortal power. Therefore, despairing of defending the city, they withdrew to the citadel. From there, because nothing but surrender was open to the besieged, envoys came down
34 to the king to ask for pardon. When this was granted, the queen came with a great train of noble ladies, making libations of wine from golden cups.
35 She herself, placing her little son at the king's knees, obtained, not only pardon, but also the splendour of her former fortune; indeed, she was addressed as

credidere quidam plus formae quam miserationi
36 datum; puero quoque certe postea, ex ea utcumque genito, Alexandro fuit nomen.

XI. Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Horam[1] cum exercitu missus, inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit intra munimenta compulsos secutus, urbem in dicionem
2 redegit. Multa ignobilia oppida, deserta a suis, venere in regis potestatem. Quorum incolae armati petram, Aornum[2] nomine, occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terraeque motu coac-
3 tum absistere, fama vulgaverat. Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, si pretium operae esset,[3] aditum se monstratu-
4 rum esse promittens. LXXX talenta constituit daturum Alexander et, altero ex iuvenibus obside retento,
5 ipsum ad exsequenda quae obtulerat dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est Myllinas,[4] scriba regis. Hos enim circuitu quo[5] fallerent hostem in summum iugum placebat evadere.

6 Petra non, ut pleraeque, modicis ac mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est, cuius ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exsur-

[1] Horam *Hedicke;* nram *P m. pr.;* noram *CP m. sec.*
[2] Aornum *J. Froben;* aorni in *LP V;* aorini in *B;* aorni *F.*
[3] operae esset *Letellier;* obpesset *BFP;* obpreesset *L V;* uel operis esset *C in marg.* (*in text F*).
[4] Myllinas *Hedicke;* mullinus *A.*
[5] quo *Freinshem;* qui *A.*

[a] Justin xii. 7 speaks more decidedly about this.
[b] Justin *l.c.* says: *postea regnum Indorum potitus est.*
[c] Ὦρα, Arr. iv. 27. 7-9, of a city in the same neighbourhood.
[d] So Diod. xvii. 85. 2; Arr. iv. 28. 1-4 expresses doubt about the story.

queen. And some believed [a] that this was granted rather to her beauty than because of compassion; also it is certain that a son who was born to her, whoever his father was, was called Alexander.[b]

XI. Then Polypercon, who had been sent to the city of Hora [c] with an army, defeated the townsmen in a battle when they made a disorderly sortie; having driven them within their fortifications, he followed and reduced the city to subjection. Many obscure towns, which had been deserted by their inhabitants, came into the power of the king. The inhabitants of these armed themselves and occupied a crag called Aornus. That this had been beset by Hercules without success and that he had been compelled by an earthquake to abandon the attempt was a widespread report.[d] When Alexander was at a loss, because the rock was steep and abrupt on all sides, an old man who was acquainted with the neighbourhood came to him with two sons, promising that if it were made worth his while he would show him a way up. Alexander agreed that he would give him eighty talents and having retained one of the young men as a hostage, sent the father to carry out what he had offered to do. Myllinas,[e] the king's secretary, was made the leader of a light-armed troop. For Alexander wished these to go to the summit by a circuitous route, in order to escape the notice of the enemy.

The rock did not, like many others, rise by moderate and gentle slopes to a lofty summit, but elevated itself very much in the manner of a turning-block, of which the lower parts are wider, but become narrower as they rise higher and force the highest parts into

[e] The name is doubtful; according to Arr. iv. 29. 1, Ptolemy led this division.

7 gunt. Radices eius Indus amnis subit, praealtus, utrimque asperis ripis; ab altera parte voragines eluviesque praeruptae sunt. Nec alia expugnandi
8 patebat via, quam ut replerentur. Ad manum silva erat; quam rex ita caedi iussit, ut nudi stipites iacerentur; quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus truncam arborem iecit, clamorque exercitus,[1] index alacritatis, secutus est, nullo
9 detrectante munus quod rex occupavit. Sic[2] intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagittarios et Agrianos iubet per ardua niti. Iuvenesque
10 promptissimos ex sua cohorte xxx delegit; duces his dati sunt Charus et Alexander, quem rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primo, quia tam[3] manifestum periculum erat, ipsum
11 regem discrimen subire non placuit, sed ut signum tuba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes, sequi se iubet primusque invadit in rupem. Nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus, sua sponte regem sequebantur.
12 Multorum miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus; cum vero alieno exitio quid ipsis timendum foret admonerentur, in metum misericordia versa, non exstinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant.

[1] se (*after* exercitus) *deleted by Giunta.*
[2] occupavit. Sic *Hedicke;* occupauisset *A.*
[3] tam *C;* iam *P.*

[a] Cut out by the water.
[b] The *regia cohors*; *cf.* viii. 6. 7.

7 a sharp point. The Indus River comes close up to its base, and is very deep with steep banks on both sides; on the other side there are deep abysses and chasms.[a] There was no other way open for storming the place
8 except by filling these. There was a forest at hand; this the king ordered to be cut in such a way that the tree-trunks should lie stripped of their limbs; for the branches covered with leaves would have hampered those who carried them. Alexander himself trimmed and threw in the first tree, and the army's shouting which followed was an indication of their eagerness, since no one shirked the task in which the
9 king had taken the lead. In this way before the seventh day they had wholly filled the caverns, when the king ordered the archers and the Agriani to try to mount the heights. Also he chose thirty of the
10 most active men of his own cohort.[b] As leaders he gave them Charus and Alexander, and the king exhorted the latter to remember the name which he had in common with himself. And at first, because the danger was so evident, the king himself decided
11 not to run the risk, but when the signal was given by the trumpet, that prince of ready daring, turning to his guards, ordered them to follow him, and was the first to climb upon the rock. Then not one of the Macedonians stayed behind, but leaving their posts
12 of their own accord, they followed the king. Many met a wretched death, for they slipped from the steep rock, and the river which flowed by swallowed them up, a sad sight even for those who were not at the moment in danger; but when by the death of others they were reminded what they themselves had to fear, compassion changing to dread, they lamented, not the dead, but themselves.

13 Et iam eo perventum erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, quis[1] perculsi instabili
14 et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant. Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum xxx delectis praemiserat rex, et iam pugnare comminus coeperant; sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent,
15 saepius ipsi feriebantur quam vulnerabant. Ergo Alexander, et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique
16 obruitur. Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem omnium praeter ultionem immemor coepit multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit; sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus
17 procubuit exanimis. Haud secus quam par erat, promptissimorum iuvenum ceterorumque militum
18 interitu commotus, rex signum receptui dedit. Saluti fuit quod sensim et intrepidi se receperunt, et barbari hostem depulisse contenti, non institere cedenti-
19 bus. Ceterum Alexander cum statuisset desistere incepto—quippe nulla spes potiundae petrae offerebatur—tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione[2] perseverantis. Nam et itinera obsideri iussit et turres admoveri et fatigatis alios succedere.

20 Cuius pertinacia cognita, Indi per biduum quidem ac duas noctes cum ostentatione non fiduciae modo, sed etiam victoriae epulati sunt, tympana suo more

[1] quis *Freinshem;* qui *A.*
[2] obsidione *Lauer;* obsidionem *A.*

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[a] See viii. 11. 10.
[b] So only Curtius; Diodorus and Arrian differ.

13 And now they had gone so far that except as victors, they could not return without destruction, since the barbarians were rolling down huge stones upon them as they went up, and when struck by these while their footing was unsteady and slipping,
14 they fell back headlong. Nevertheless Alexander and Charus, whom the king had sent ahead with thirty selected men, had gained the height and were already fighting hand to hand; but since the barbarians showered javelins upon them from above, they themselves were wounded more often than they
15 inflicted wounds. Therefore Alexander,[a] remembering his name and his promise, while fighting more fearlessly than cautiously, was struck from every side
16 and overwhelmed. When Charus saw him lying prostrate, unmindful of everything except revenge he began to rush upon the enemy and killed many with his lance, some with his sword; but when so many assailed one man, he fell lifeless upon the body
17 of his friend. The king, troubled as was natural by the death of these most valiant young men and of the
18 rest of his soldiers, gave the signal for retreat. They saved themselves by withdrawing gradually and unterrified, and the barbarians, content with having dislodged the enemy, did not follow them up as they
19 gave ground. But although Alexander had decided to abandon the attempt [b]—for no hope was offered of getting possession of the rock—yet he made a show of persisting in the siege. For he ordered the roads to be beset, and the towers to be advanced, and others to take the place of the wearied.

20 When his persistence was known, the Indi feasted for two days and two nights with a display, not only of confidence, but even of victory, beating drums

21 pulsantes; tertia vero nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri, ceterum ex tota petra faces refulgebant, quas accenderant barbari ut tutior esset
22 ipsis fuga obscura nocte per invia saxa cursuris. Rex, Balacro qui specularetur praemisso, cognoscit petram fuga Indorum esse desertam. Tum dato signo ut universi conclamarent, incomposite fugientibus me-
23 tum incussit; multique, tamquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt, plures, aliqua membrorum parte mulcati, ab
24 integris deserti sunt. Rex, locorum magis quam hostium victor, tamen magnae victoriae speciem[1] sacrificiis et cultu deum fecit. Arae in petra locatae
25 sunt Minervae Victoriae.[2] Ducibus itineris quo[3] subire iusserat leviter armatos, etsi promissis minora praestiterant, pretium cum fide redditum est, petrae regionisque ei adiunctae Sisocosto tutela permissa.

XII. Inde processit Ecbolima et, cum angustias itineris obsideri xx milibus armatorum ab Erice quodam comperisset, gravius agmen exercitus Coeno
2 ducendum modicis itineribus tradidit, ipse praegressus per[4] funditores ac sagittarios, deturbatis qui obsederant[5] saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit.
3 Indi[6] sive odio ducis sive gratiam victoris inituri, Ericen fugientem adorti interemerunt, caputque eius

[1] speciem *added by Mützell.*
[2] Victoriae *Stangl;* uictoriaeque *A.*
[3] quo *Zumpt;* quos *A.* [4] per *added by Bentley.*
[5] obsederant *Giunta;* obsiderant *A.*
[6] Indi *J. Froben;* inde *A.*

[a] See Arr. iii. 12. 3; iii. 13. 5; iv. 4. 6. Which one of three or more of this name is referred to is uncertain.
[b] *Cf.* Arr. iv. 30. 4, where Sisicottos.
[c] See Arr. iv. 28. 7, but the location is uncertain.
[d] The name is uncertain.

according to their custom; but on the third night the noise of the drums had ceased to be heard, but from the whole rock torches gleamed, which the barbarians had lighted in order that their flight might be safer, since they would have to run over pathless rocks in the darkness of night. The king, having sent Balacrus [a] to reconnoitre, learned that the rock was deserted and the Indi in flight. Then, when the signal had been given for all to raise a shout, he struck fear into them as they fled in disorder; and many, as if the enemy were at hand, were killed by throwing themselves over the slippery stones and pathless crags, still more, disabled in some part of their limbs, were deserted by those who escaped injury. The king, although victor rather over the locality than over the enemy, yet made the show of a great triumph by sacrifices and worship of the gods. Altars to Minerva Victoria were set up on the rock. To the guides of the road by which he had ordered the light-armed troops to go up, although they had accomplished less than they had promised, the reward was faithfully paid, and the government of the rock, and of the district adjoining it, was entrusted to Sisocostus.[b]

XII. From there the king went on to Ecbolima,[c] and when he had found that a narrow part of the road was blocked by a certain Erices [d] with 20,000 armed men, he turned over the heavier part of the army to Coenus to be led at a moderate pace, and he himself, going ahead, dislodged by slingers and archers those who had beset the narrows, and make a way for the forces which were following him. The Indi, either through hatred of their leader, or with the object of entering the good graces of the victor, attacked

.atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto impunitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo.
4 Hinc ad flumen Indum sextisdecumis castris pervenit omniaque, ut praeceperat, ad traiciendum praeparata ab Hephaestione repperit. Regnabat in ea regione Omphis, qui patri quoque fuerat auctor
5 dedendi regnum Alexandro et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum regnare se interim vellet an privatum opperiri eius adventum.
6 Permissoque,[1] ut regnaret, non tamen ius datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benigne quidem exceperat Hephaestionem gratuitum frumentum copiis eius admensus, non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius
7 nisi regis experiretur. Itaque venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est, elephanti quoque per modica intervalla militum agmini immixti procul
8 castellorum fecerant speciem. Ac primo Alexander non socium, sed hostem adventare credebat, iamque et ipse arma milites capere et equites discedere[2] in cornua iusserat, paratus ad pugnam.

At Indus, cognito Macedonum errore, iussis subsistere ceteris, ipse concitat equum quo vehebatur ; idem Alexander quoque fecit, sive hostis sive amicus
9 occurreret, vel sua virtute vel illius fide tutus. Coiere,[3] quod ex utriusque vultu posset intellegi, amicis

[1] Permissoque *Modius;* praemissoque *P;* permissusque *BFL;* permissique *V.*
[2] discedere *J. Froben;* descendere *A.*
[3] Coiere *Wagener;* coiret *A.*

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[a] See viii. 10. 2.
[b] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 86. 6; Arr. iv. 22. 6 says nothing of him. He was son and successor of Taxiles.

Erices, who was in flight, killed him, and bore his head and armour to Alexander. He granted impunity to the deed, but refused any honour to the example.

4 From here he came on the sixteenth day to the river Indus, and found, as he had directed,[a] that everything had been prepared by Hephaestion for crossing it. In that region Omphis was king,[b] who had induced his father also to surrender his kingdom
5 to Alexander and after the death of his parent had sent envoys to ask Alexander whether he wished him to reign in the interim, or as a private citizen to await
6 his coming. But although he was allowed to be king, he nevertheless did not have the courage to use the privilege which was granted him. He indeed had received Hephaestion courteously, had measured out grain free of charge to his troops, yet had not met him, fearing to test the good faith of anyone except
7 the king. And so, when Alexander was coming near, he went out to meet him with his army equipped for action, in which he had also at moderate intervals between the companies of soldiers placed elephants, which at a distance gave the appearance of castles.
8 And Alexander at first thought that not an ally but an enemy was coming, and he also had already ordered his soldiers to take arms and the cavalry to withdraw to the wings, and was prepared for battle.

But the Indian, perceiving the mistake of the Macedonians, ordered the rest of his force to halt and himself put spurs to the horse which he was riding; Alexander did the same, whether he came as an enemy or a friend feeling safe either through his own
9 valour or the prince's good faith. They met, as could be judged from the expression of each, in a

animis. Ceterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo; itaque, adhibito eo, barbarus occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu, totas imperii vires protinus traditurum nec exspectasse[1] dum per nuntios daretur fides.
10 Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi quem sciret gloriae militantem nihil magis quam famam timere perfidiae. Laetus simplicitate barbari, rex et dexteram, fidei suae pignus, dedit et regnum restituit.
11 LVI elephanti erant quos tradidit Alexandro, multaque pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad III milia, pretiosum in ea regione acceptumque animis regnantium armentum.
12 Quaerenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet an milites, cum duobus regibus bellanti sibi maiore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse respondit.
13 Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspen amnem regnabat et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri
14 decreverat. Omphis, permittente Alexandro, et regium insigne sumpsit et more gentis suae nomen quod patris fuerat; Taxilen appellavere populares, sequente nomine imperium in quemcumque transiret.
15 Igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die et quantum frumenti copiis quas Hephaestion duxerat praebitum a se esset ostendit, et aureas coronas ipsi amicisque omnibus,

[1] expectasse *Lauer*; spectasse *A*.

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[a] Sacred bulls are usual in India to-day.
[b] His kingdom corresponded to modern Lahore.
[c] The Jhelum. [d] *Cf.* viii. 12. 6.

spirit of friendship. However, they could not talk together without an interpreter; accordingly, when one had been furnished, the barbarian said that he had met Alexander with his army, intending at once to deliver to him all the forces of his empire, and had not waited for a pledge of safety to be given through
10 messengers. He said that he entrusted his person and his realm to a prince whom he knew to be fighting for glory and to fear nothing more than a reputation for treachery. Pleased by the sincerity of the barbarian, the king gave him his hand as a pledge of
11 good faith, and restored his kingdom to him. There were fifty-six elephants, which he presented to Alexander, besides many head of sheep of extraordinary size and about 3000 bulls, a herd highly valued in that region[a] and pleasing to the minds of rulers.

12 When Alexander inquired whether he had more field-labourers or soldiers, Omphis replied that since he was at war with two kings, he needed a greater
13 force of soldiers than of farmers. These kings were Abisares and Porus,[b] but Porus was the more powerful. Both reigned beyond the river Hydaspes,[c] and they had decided to try the fortune of war against
14 anyone who attacked them. Omphis with the permission of Alexander assumed the royal diadem, and according to the usage of his race took the name which his father had had; the people called him Taxiles, a name which went with the sovereignty
15 of whoever succeeded to it. Having then entertained Alexander as his guest for three days, on the fourth day he both made known how much grain he had furnished to the forces which Hephaestion had brought,[d] and gave golden crowns to Alexander

praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit.
16 Qua benignitate eius Alexander mire laetus, et quae is dederat remisit et M talenta ex praeda quam vehebat adiecit, multaque convivalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis cum eisdem insignibus quis assueverant cum ipsum veherent.
17 Quae liberalitas, sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super cenam, largiore vino usus, gratulari se Alexandro dixit quod saltem in India repperisset
18 dignum talentis M. Rex haud oblitus quam aegre tulisset quod Clitum ob linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

XIII. Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem; omnia dicioni eius, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant, firmataque invicem fide, remittuntur ad regem.
2 Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse compelli, misit ad eum Cleocharen qui denuntiaret ei ut stipendium penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum
3 praesto esset, sed armatus. Iam Hydaspen Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes,[1] defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinctus trigintaque elephanti

[1] Barzaentes *Letellier;* barzaentis *F corr. LP;* barzęntis *BV;* barzentis *F m. pr.*

[a] *Cf.* iii. 13. 16.
[b] *Cf.* Plut. *Alex.* lix. 3.
[c] Arr. v. 8. 3.
[d] See vi. 6. 36.

and to all his friends, and besides these eighty talents
16 of coined silver [a] as a gift. Alexander, wonderfully pleased by his generosity, both returned what he had given and added 1000 talents from the booty which he was carrying, besides many gold and silver vessels for use at table, a quantity of Persian robes, and thirty of his own horses with the same trappings to which they were accustomed when he himself rode them.

17 This liberality, although it put the barbarian under an obligation, yet seriously offended the king's friends.[b] One of them, Meleager, having indulged too freely in wine, said at table that he congratulated Alexander that at least in India he had found a man
18 deserving of 1000 talents. The king, not forgetting how deeply he had regretted having killed Clitus because of his rash language, restrained his anger, but said that jealous men were nothing less than self-tormentors.

XIII. On the following day envoys [c] of Abisares came to the king. They, according to their orders, surrendered everything into his power; and having given and received a pledge of good faith, they were
2 sent back to their king. Thinking that Porus also could be forced to surrender by the fame of his name, Alexander sent Cleochares to him to demand that he should pay tribute and meet Alexander at the frontier of his territories. Porus replied that he would comply with the second of these demands, that he would be on hand when Alexander entered his realm, but it
3 would be in arms. Alexander had already decided to cross the Hydaspes River, when Barzaentes,[d] the instigator of the revolt of the Arachosii, was brought to him in fetters, as well as thirty elephants which

simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus Indos auxilium; quippe plus in beluis quam in exercitu
4 spei ac virium illis erat. Damaraxus quoque,[1] rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se coniunxerat,
5 vinctus adductus est. Igitur, transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis, ad amnem Hydaspen pervenit, in cuius ulteriore ripa Porus consederat, transitu prohibiturus hostem.
6 LXXX et V elephantos obiecerat eximio corporum robore ultraque eos currus CCC et peditum XXX fere milia, in quis erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis, quam ut apte excuti possent.
7 Ipsum vehebat elephantus super ceteras beluas eminens, armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. Par animus robori corporis et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia.
8 Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis quod transeundum erat magnitudo terrebat. IIII in latitudinem stadia diffusus profundo alveo et nusquam[2] vada aperiente speciem vasti
9 maris fecerat. Nec pro spatio aquarum late stagnantium impetum coercebat, sed quasi in artum coeuntibus ripis, torrens et elisus ferebatur, occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae repercussae.
10 Terribilior facies erat ripae, quam equi virique compleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles et, de industria irritatae, horrendo stridore

[1] Damaraxus quoque *Hedicke;* samaxusque *A.*
[2] nusquam *P;* numquam *C.*

[a] *Cf.* viii. 14. 13; Plut. *Alex.* lx.; Arr. v. 19. 1.
[b] On the size of the rivers of India at the time of Alexander's march see Arr. v. 9. 4.
[c] That is, it was not less rapid for being wide.
[d] *i.e.* elephants.

had been captured at the same time with him, a timely aid against the Indi; for they had more hope and strength in those beasts than in their army. 4 Damaraxus also, the king of a small district of India, who had allied himself with Barzaentes, was brought 5 to Alexander in fetters. Accordingly, when the deserter and the prince had been put under guard and the elephants given to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes, on whose farther bank Porus had taken position, intending to prevent the enemy 6 from crossing. Porus had put in front eighty-five elephants of extraordinary strength of body, and behind these 300 chariots and about 30,000 foot-soldiers, among whom were archers with heavier arrows, as was said before, than they could shoot to advantage. 7 Porus himself was mounted upon an elephant towering above the rest of the brutes, and armour decorated with gold and silver adorned a body of unusual stature.[a] His courage was equal to his strength of body, and his wisdom was as great as 8 could be found among uncultivated folk. Not merely the appearance of the enemy, but also the size [b] of the river that must be crossed terrified the Macedonians. Extending to a width of four stadia, with a deep channel which nowhere disclosed a ford, it gave 9 the impression of a vast sea. And it did not check its swift course in proportion to the extent of its widely spread waters,[c] but as if confined by its banks to a narrow channel, it rushed on in a foaming torrent, and rebounding billows revealed hidden 10 rocks in many places. Still more formidable was the appearance of the bank, which had been filled with horses and men. There stood huge masses of vast bodies,[d] and when they were purposely irritated they

11 aures fatigabant. Hinc amnis, hinc hostis, capacia quidem bonae spei pectora et saepe sane[1] experta, improviso tamen pavore percusserant. Quippe instabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam nec tuto applicari posse credebant.

12 Erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes, levatis super capita armis, transibant. Ibi levia proelia conserebantur, et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine summae experiebatur
13 eventum. Ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Hegesimachus et Nicanor, nobiles iuvenes et perpetua partium felici-
14 tate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi; quis ducibus promptissimi iuvenum, lanceis modo armati, transnavere in insulam quam frequens hostis tenebat, multosque Indorum, nulla re melius quam
15 audacia armati, interemerunt. Abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temeritas felix[2] inveniret modum; sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque exspectant, circumventi ab eis qui
16 occulti enaverant eminus obruti telis sunt. Qui effugerant hostem aut impetu amnis ablati sunt aut verticibus[3] impliciti. Eaque pugna multum Pori fiduciam erexit cuncta cernentis e ripa.

17 Alexander inops consilii tandem ad fallendum hostem talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in flumine

[1] sane *Hedicke;* se *A.* [2] infelix *C.*
[3] verticibus *C;* uorticibus *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* iv. 2. 9. [b] *Cf.* iv. 16. 4.
[c] Arr. v. 11. ff.; Plut. *Alex.* lx. 1 from Alexander's own *Memoirs*; see C. A. Robinson, *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Providence, Brown University, 1932, and bibliography, p. 7. [d] Arr. v. 11. 1.

11 wearied the ears with their hideous trumpeting. On one hand the river, on the other the enemy had nevertheless struck unlooked-for terror into breasts which were indeed capable of good hope and had surely often seen such hope realized. For they thought that the unsteady[a] boats could not be steered to the bank nor landed there in safety.

12 There were in midstream numerous islands, to which both the Indi and the Macedonians crossed by swimming, raising their weapons over their heads. There light skirmishing took place, and both kings by the decision of these small contests were testing
13 the outcome of the main struggle. Now there were in the army of the Macedonians Hegesimachus and Nicanor, high-born youths conspicuous for rashness and daring, aroused by the constant good fortune of
14 their side[b] to despise all dangers; under their lead the most active of the young men, armed only with lances, swam across to an island which a crowd of the enemy held and, armed with nothing better than
15 daring, slew many of the Indi. They might have come off with glory if successful rashness were ever capable of moderation; but while they were awaiting contemptuously and even haughtily those who were coming against them, they were surrounded by those who had secretly swum out and were overwhelmed
16 by weapons hurled at long range. Those who had escaped the enemy were swept away by the force of the river or swallowed up in the whirlpools. And this battle greatly increased the confidence of Porus, who saw the whole event from the bank.

17 Alexander, uncertain what to do, finally devised the following stratagem[c] to deceive the enemy. There was an island[d] in the river larger than the

amplior ceteris, silvestris eadem et tegendis insidiis apta, fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa quam tenebat ipse non pedites modo sed etiam cum equis
18 viros poterat abscondere; igitur ut a custodia huius opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolomaeum omnibus turmis obequitare iussit procul insula et subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transna-
19 turus foret. Per complures dies Ptolomaeus id fecit eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti quam se petere simulabat coegit advertere. Iam
20 extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversa parte ripae statui suum tabernaculum iussit assuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare et omnem apparatum regiae magnifi-
21 centiae hostium oculis de industria ostendi. Attalum etiam, aequalem sibi et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat, praebiturum speciem ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere nec cogitare[1] de transitu.
22 Huius consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adiuvit, incommoda quoque ad bonos even-
23 tus vertente Fortuna. Traicere amnem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae de qua ante dictum est parabat, averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolomaeo inferiorem obsederant ripam, cum procella imbrem
24 vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit. Obrutique

[1] cogitare *Vogel;* agitare *A*.

[a] According to Arr. v. 13. 1, Ptolemy remained with the king. [b] Arrian says nothing of this.
[c] For details see Arr. v. 12. 2.

rest, wooded also and suitable for concealing an ambuscade, moreover in a very deep ditch not far from the bank which he himself held he could conceal not only foot-soldiers but even men and their horses;
18 therefore, in order to distract the enemy's attention from guarding against this advantageous place, he ordered Ptolemy [a] with all his cavalry to ride to a point far from that island, and from time to time to alarm the Indi by shouts, as if they were going to
19 swim across the river. For many days Ptolemy did this, and by this device compelled Porus also to turn his army to that part at which he pretended to be aiming. Already the island was out of the enemy's
20 sight. Alexander ordered his tent to be pitched on a different part of the bank, and the cohort which usually attended him to stand before that tent and all the equipment of royal magnificence to be purposely
21 displayed before the eyes of the foe. Attalus [b] also, of the same age as himself and not unlike him in face and figure, especially when he was seen from a distance, he adorned with the royal robe, in order to give the impression that the king himself was encamped on that part of the bank and was not thinking of crossing.

22 The carrying out of this plan was first delayed then furthered by a storm, since Fortune turned even
23 obstacles to good results. He was preparing to cross the river with the rest [c] of his forces to the shore near the island of which mention was made before, having diverted the attention of the enemy against those who, with Ptolemy, had occupied a part of the bank farther down the river, when a tempest poured out rain which was scarcely to be endured by people
24 under cover. And the soldiers, overwhelmed by the

milites nimbo in terram refugerunt, navigiis ratibusque desertis, sed tumultuantium fremitus, obstrepentibus ventis, ab hoste non poterat audiri. Deinde momento temporis repressus est imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem vixque colloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur.
25 Terruisset alium obducta nox caelo, cum ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam
26 quam caeci atque improvidi petebant tenente. At[1] rex, periculo gloriam accersens et[2] obscuritatem quae ceteros terrebat suam occasionem ratus, dato signo ut omnes silentio escenderent in rates,[3] eam qua
27 ipse vehebatur primam iussit expelli. Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa quae petebatur; quippe adhuc Porus Ptolomaeum tantum intuebatur. Una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus illiserat, haerente ceterae evadunt, armaque capere milites et ire in ordines[4] iussit.

XIV. Iamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nuntiatur armis virisque ripam obtineri et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primo humani ingenii vitio spei suae indulgens, Abisaren belli socium—et ita convenerat—adventare credebat.
2 Mox liquidiore luce aperiente aciem[5] hostium, c quadrigas et IIII milia equitum venienti agmini

[1] petebant tenente. At rex *Jeep;* et ex *A.*
[2] accersens et *Jeep;* accerserant *A.*
[3] rates *J. Froben;* ratem *A.*
[4] ordines *Acidalius;* ordinem *A.*
[5] aciem *Bentley;* hostem *A.*

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[a] Arr. v. 12. 3.
[b] According to Plut. *Alex.* lx. 2, the attempt was made by night.
[c] See Arr. v. 13. 1.
[d] *Cf.* viii. 13. 1.

storm, fled back to the land, deserting the boats and the rafts, but the uproar made by the bustling men was drowned[a] by the noisy gusts of wind and could not be heard by the enemy. Then in a moment the rain ceased,[b] but such thick clouds overspread the sky that they hid the light, and men who were talking together
25 could scarcely recognize each other's faces. The night that darkened the sky would have terrified anyone else, since it was necessary to sail upon an unknown river, when perhaps the enemy were holding that very bank at which they were blindly and recklessly
26 aiming. But the king, inviting glory by courting danger, and thinking that the obscurity which terrified the rest was his opportunity, having given the signal for all silently to embark in the boats, ordered the one in which he himself was carried to be
27 pushed off first. The bank at which they aimed was deserted[c] by the enemy; for Porus was still watching Ptolemy only. Therefore only one boat, which a wave had dashed upon a rock, was stranded; the rest reached their goal, and Alexander ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and take their places in the ranks.

XIV. And now the army had formed its wings and the king himself was leading it, when it was announced to Porus that the bank was held by armed men and that a dangerous moment was at hand. And at first, by that defect of the human mind which indulges wishful thinking, he believed that Abisares, his ally in the war, was coming,[d] for so it
2 had been agreed. But presently, as the light grew clearer and revealed the enemy's battle line, Porus sent 100 four-horse chariots and 4000 horsemen to oppose the advancing column. The leader of the

obiecit. Dux erat copiarum quas praemisit Spitaces,[1]
3 frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus; senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clipeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos, aurigae erant ceteri, haud sane inermes; quippe iacula complura, ubi comminus proeliandum erat, omissis habenis, in hostem
4 ingerebant. Ceterum vix ullus usus huius auxilii eo die fuit. Namque, ut supra dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus, campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat, gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus illuvie ac voraginibus haerebant.
5 Contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue invectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos; Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit.
6 Iam undique pugna se moverat, cum ei qui currus agebant illud ultimum auxilium suorum rati, effusis
7 habenis in medium discrimen ruere coeperunt. Anceps id malum utrisque erat. Nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur, et per lubrica atque invia immissi currus excutiebant eos a quibus
8 regebantur. Aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem praecipitavere
9 curricula, pauci telis[2] hostium exacti, penetravere ad Porum acerrime pugnam cientem. Is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis
10 amicorum distribuit elephantos. Post eos posuerat

[1] Spitaces *Anspach;* hages *A.*
[2] telis *Snakenburg;* tenus *C;* tamen *P m. pr. B m. sec.*

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[a] Porus' son, according to Arr. v. 14. 3.
[b] Arr. v. 13. 1; v. 12. 2.
[c] *pugna se moverat* is a unique expression, but with some analogies.

troops which he sent was Spitaces, his brother,[a] and the greater part of his strength was in his chariots ;
3 each of these carried six men, two with bucklers, two archers stationed on each side, the rest were the drivers, who were by no means unarmed ; for when it was necessary to fight hand to hand, they dropped the reins and poured a shower of javelins upon the enemy.
4 However, on that day this aid was of hardly any use ; for, as was said above, the rain which had fallen with greater violence than usual had made the plains slippery and unfit for riding, and the heavy and almost immovable chariots stuck fast in the muck and
5 mudholes. On the other hand, Alexander with his unencumbered and light-armed force charged them vigorously. The Scythians and the Dahae first of all attacked the Indi ; then Alexander sent Perdiccas [b] with the cavalry against the right wing of the enemy.
6 And already the battle had begun [c] everywhere, when those who drove the chariots, thinking it the last possible aid for their side, began to rush with loose
7 rein into the midst of the contest. This was a common evil for both sides. For the foot-soldiers of the Macedonians were trampled at the first attack, and the chariots sent over the slippery and impassable ground
8 shook off those who guided them. The frightened horses of others dragged the chariots not only into
9 the mudholes and pools, but even into the river, a few, driven by the enemy's weapons, made their way to Porus, who was vigorously urging on the fight. He, when he saw the chariots wandering all over the field without drivers, distributed [d] the elephants to
10 those of his friends who were nearest to him. Behind

[a] Arr. v. 14. 4 ff. gives a clear and full account of Porus' army.

peditem ac sagittarios et[1] tympana pulsare solitos ; id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat, nec strepitu eorum movebantur, olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis.
11 Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum praeferebatur ; id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum, et deseruisse gestantis militare flagitium habebatur.
12 Capitis etiam sanxerant poenam eis[2] qui ex acie non rettulissent, metu quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non beluarum modo, sed
13 etiam ipsius regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant, ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis prope modum excesserat ; speciem[3] magnitudini Pori adicere videbatur belua qua vehebatur tantum inter ceteras eminens quanto aliis ipse praestabat.
14 Itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen Indorum : " Tandem," inquit, " par animo meo periculum video cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis
15 viris res est." Intuensque Coenon : " Cum ego," inquit, " Ptolomaeo Perdiccaque et Hephaestione comitatus in laevum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse ad[4] dextrum move et turbatis signa infer. Tu, Antigene,

[1] et *added in I.* [2] iis *Vindelinus;* his *A.*
[3] speciem *Hedicke;* formam *A.* [4] ad *added by Capps.*

[a] There seems to be no evidence for this ; probably the Indian god Vishnu is meant.
[b] That is, behind them but fitting into the intervals (100 feet) between them (Arr. v. 15. 4 ff.).
[c] According to Arrian (v. 19. 1), it was " over five cubits "

these he had stationed the infantry and the archers, as well as those who were accustomed to beat the drums; this with the Indi took the place of the sound of trumpets, and the elephants were not terrified by the noise, since their ears had been long since trained
11 to the familiar sound. A statue of Hercules [a] was carried at the head of the infantry force; this was a very great incentive to the combatants, and to have abandoned those who were carrying it was held
12 to be a military disgrace. They even decreed the penalty of death to those who should not bring it back from the field of battle, since the fear which they had once felt of that enemy had been changed even to adoration and veneration. The Macedonians were checked for a time, by the sight not only of the elephants but of the king himself.
13 The beasts, stationed [b] between lines of armed men, at a distance looked like towers, while Porus himself had almost exceeded the measure of human stature [c]; the beast on which he rode seemed to add to his height, since it rose as much higher than the other elephants as he did above the rest of his men.
14 Accordingly Alexander, contemplating both the king and the army of the Indi, said: "At last I behold a danger worthy of my spirit; I am dealing at the same time with beasts and with remarkable
15 men." Then, looking at Coenus, he said: "When I, attended by Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Hephaestion, have made a charge against the left wing of the enemy and you see me in the thick of the brunt of battle, do you move to the right wing and attack the enemy while they are in disorder. You, Antigenes,

(7 feet, 6 inches); according to Plut. *Alex.* lx. 6, four cubits and a span (6 feet, 3 inches).

et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, iam invehemini[1] in
16 mediam aciem et urgebitis frontem. Hastae nostrae
praelongae et validae non alias magis quam adver-
sus beluas rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt;
deturbate eos qui vehuntur et ipsas confodite.
Anceps genus auxilii est et in suos acrius furit; in
hostem enim imperio, in suos pavore agitur."
17 Haec elocutus concitat equum primus. Iamque,
ut destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium, cum
18 Coenus ingenti vi in laevum cornu invehitur. Phalanx
quoque mediam Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit.
At Porus, qua equitem invehi senserat, beluas agi
iussit; sed tardum et paene immobile animal equo-
19 rum velocitatem aequare non poterat. Ne sagit-
tarum quidem ullus erat barbaris usus. Quippe
longas[2] et praegraves, nisi prius in terra statuerunt[3]
arcum, haud satis apte et commode imponunt, tum,
humo lubrica et ob id impediente conatum, molientes
20 ictus celeritate hostium occupantur. Ergo spreto
regis imperio—quod fere fit, ubi turbatis acrius
metus quam dux imperare coepit—totidem erant
21 imperatores quot agmina errabant; alius iungere
aciem, alius dividere, stare quidam et nonnulli cir-
cumvehi terga hostium iubebant; nihil in medium
22 consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis quibus metu

[1] iam invehemini *Hedicke;* non inuaehimini *P;* inuehi-
mini *C.* [2] longas *J. Froben;* longae *A.*
[3] statuerunt *Kinch,* -erent *A.*

[a] With *ad dextrum move* in § 15 Curtius is intelligible and consistent with Arrian v. 16. 3. Coenus had his own and Demetrius' troops.
[b] *Cf.* viii. 9. 28, and note *c*. [c] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 88.

and you, Leonnatus, and Tauron, will at the same time advance against the centre and attack their front.
16 Our spears, which are very long and strong, will never serve us better than against these beasts and their drivers; bring down those who are mounted on them and stab the brutes. It is a doubtful kind of strength, and rages more violently against its own men; for it is driven against the enemy by command, against its own men by fear."
17 Having said this, he was the first to put spurs to his horse. And already, as had been planned, he had plunged into the ranks of the enemy, when Coenus
18 with mighty force charged the left wing.[a] The phalanx too at the first onset burst through the middle of the line of the Indi. But Porus, where he saw that the cavalry were charging, ordered the elephants to be advanced, but that animal, being slow and well-nigh immovable, could not equal the
19 speed of the horses. The barbarians too could make no use of their arrows. For since these were long and very heavy, they could not safely and conveniently fit them to the bow[b] unless they first rested its end upon the earth, and as the ground was slippery and therefore interfered with attempting this, by the time they were ready to take aim they were overtaken
20 by the speed of the enemy. Therefore, disregarding[c] the king's order—which generally happens when it is fear rather than a leader that begins to issue the sharper commands to men who are in great confusion —there were as many commanders as there were
21 scattered bands; one was giving orders to unite the line of battle, another to divide it, some to stand fast, and others to envelop the enemy from behind;
22 there was no general plan of action. Porus, how-

potior fuerat pudor colligere dispersos, obvius hosti ire pergit elephantosque ante agmen suorum agi
23 iubet. Magnum beluae iniecere terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modo, tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque ordinesque turbaverat.
24 Iam fugae circumspiciebant locum paulo ante victores, cum Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem[1] concursatione quam comminus
25 militem, emisit in beluas. Ingentem hi vim telorum iniecere et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx
26 quoque instare constanter territis coepit. Sed quidam avidius persecuti beluas in semet irritavere vulneribus. Obtriti ergo pedibus earum ceteris ut
27 parcius instarent fuere documentum. Praecipue terribilis illa facies erat, cum manu arma virosque
28 corriperent et super se regentibus traderent. Anceps ergo pugna nunc sequentium, nunc fugientium elephantos, in multum diei varium certamen extraxit, donec securibus—id namque genus auxilii praepara-
29 tum erat—pedes amputare coeperunt. Copidas vocabant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes, quis appetebant beluarum manus. Nec quicquam inexpertum non mortis modo, sed etiam in ipsa morte novi supplicii timor omittebat.
30 Ergo elephanti vulneribus tandem fatigati, suos impetu sternunt, et qui rexerant eos praecipitati in

[1] meliorem *Lauer;* meliore *A*.

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[a] Changing the position they held in viii. 14. 13.
[b] Diod. xvii. 88 gives a vivid description.
[c] For *obtriti pedibus cf.* vii. 11. 16.

ever, with a few over whom shame had more power than fear, proceeded to collect his scattered forces and to advance against the foe, giving orders that the elephants be put in front of his line of troops.[a]
23 The brutes caused great terror, and their trumpeting not only threw into confusion the horses, animals so fearful of everything, but also the men and the ranks.
24 And already those who shortly before were victors were looking about for an opportunity for flight, when Alexander sent against the elephants the light-armed Agriani and the other Thracians, troops
25 better in a rapid attack[b] than in close combat. These cast a great shower of weapons both upon the elephants and upon those who were guiding them. The phalanx also began steadily to attack the terrified
26 animals. But some, who pursued the elephants too eagerly, so irritated them by wounds that they turned upon them. Hence, being trampled under foot,[c] they served to the rest as a lesson to attack
27 with greater caution. It was a particularly awful spectacle when with their trunks they seized men and their weapons and passed them over their heads to
28 the drivers. As a result, the shifting battle, as they now pursued and now fled from the elephants, prolonged the undecided contest until late in the day, when with axes—for that kind of help had been prepared beforehand—they began to cut off their feet.
29 With slightly curved swords, like sickles, which they called *copides*, they attacked the brutes' trunks. And their fear left nothing untried, not only in dealing death, but also in new ways of making death itself painful.
30 Therefore the elephants, at last worn out by wounds, rushed upon and overthrew their own men,

terram, ab ipsis obterebantur. Iamque[1] pecorum modo magis pavidi quam infesti ultra aciem exige-
31 bantur, cum Porus, destitutus a pluribus, tela multa[2] ante praeparata in circumfusos ex elephanto suo coepit ingerere. Multisque eminus vulneratis, expo-
32 situs ipse ad ictus undique petebatur. Novem iam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat, multoque sanguine profuso, languidis manibus magis elapsa
33 quam excussa tela mittebat. Nec segnius belua instincta rabie, nondum saucia, invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector beluae regem conspexit, fluentibus membris omissisque armis, vix compotem mentis.
34 Tum beluam in fugam concitat, sequente Alexandro; sed equus eius, multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque, procubuit, posito magis rege quam effuso.
35 Itaque, dum equum mutat, tardius insecutus est. Interim frater Taxilis, regis Indorum, praemissus ab Alexandro, monere coepit Porum, ne ultima ex-
36 periri perseveraret dederetque se victori. At ille, quamquam exhaustae erant vires deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: "Agnosco," inquit, "Taxilis fratrem, imperii regnique sui proditoris," et telum, quod unum forte non effluxerat, contorsit in eum; quod per medium pectus pene-

[1] Iamque *Mützell;* itaque *A.* [2] multa *Vogel;* multo *A.*

[a] Only when they believed that Porus was dead, Diod. xvii. 88. 7.

[b] *fluentibus membris*; *cf.* Livy xxxviii. 17. 7.

and those who had guided them were hurled to the ground and trampled to death by them. And now like cattle, more frightened than dangerous, they
31 were being driven off the field of battle, when Porus, abandoned by very many of his followers,[a] began from his own elephant to pour upon those who surrounded him many javelins which had been made ready in advance. And although he wounded many at long range, he himself was exposed to shots from every
32 side. He had already suffered nine wounds, now in his back, now in his breast, and had lost so much blood that his arms were weak and the weapons which he tried to throw rather fell from his hands
33 than were hurled with any force. His elephant too, roused to madness and not yet wounded, charged with no less vigour against the enemy's ranks, until the driver of the beast saw that the king had collapsed,[b] had dropped his weapons, and was hardly
34 conscious. Then he urged the monster to flight, pursued by Alexander ; but the king's horse, which had been pierced by many shafts and was giving out, fell under him, rather dismounting him than throwing him off. And so, while he was changing his horse he
35 pursued more slowly. Meanwhile the brother of Taxiles, king of the Indi, being sent ahead by Alexander, began to advise Porus not to persist in resisting to the bitter end, but to surrender himself to the
36 victor. But he, although his strength was exhausted and he had lost much blood, nevertheless, aroused by the familiar voice, said : " I recognize the brother of Taxiles, the betrayer of his kingdom and his country," and hurled at him the only javelin which, as it happened, had not fallen from his hands ; and it passed through the middle of his breast and came

37 travit ad tergum. Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito, fugere acrius coepit. Sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat; itaque sistit fugam peditemque sequenti hosti obiecit.

38 Iam Alexander consecutus erat et, pertinacia Pori cognita, vetabat resistentibus parci. Ergo undique et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt,

39 quis tandem[1] gravatus labi ex belua coepit. Indus qui elephantum regebat descendere eum ratus, more solito elephantum procumbere iussit in genua; qui ut se submisit, ceteri quoque—ita enim instituti erant —demisere corpora in terram. Ea res et Porum et

40 ceteros victoribus tradidit. Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, iubet, et, qui detraherent loricam vestemque, concurrere, cum belua dominum tueri et spoliantes coepit appetere levatumque corpus eius rursus dorso suo imponere. Ergo telis undique obruitur, confossoque[2] eo, in vehiculum Porus imponitur.

41 Quem rex ut vidit allevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus: "Quae, malum," inquit, "amentia te coegit, rerum mearum cognita fama, belli fortunam experiri, cum Taxilis esset in deditos clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?"

42 At ille: "Quoniam," inquit, "percontaris, respon-

[1] tandem *Giunta;* tantum A.
[2] confossoque *Aldus;* compositoque *A.*

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[a] Plut. *Alex.* lx. 7 follows a strange tradition.
[b] See Strabo xv. 1. 42.
[c] A somewhat strange expression under the circumstances, probably reproducing the Greek *τί παθών*, "what possessed you?" But see Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 15. 53.

37 out at his back. After performing this last feat of valour Porus began to flee with greater speed. But the elephant also, which had received many spear-wounds, began to give out; hence Porus checked his flight and opposed the infantry to the pursuing enemy.

38 Already Alexander had come up with him and, perceiving Porus' obstinacy, ordered that no quarter be given to those who resisted. Therefore weapons were hurled from every side both upon the foot-soldiers and upon Porus himself, by which he was at last overwhelmed and began to slide off his beast.

39 The Indian who was managing the animal,[a] thinking that the king was dismounting in the usual manner, ordered the elephant to kneel; when he did so, the rest of the animals also—for so they had been trained—let down their bodies to the ground. This action delivered Porus and the rest of his company to the

40 victors. The king, believing that Porus had been killed, ordered his body to be stripped of its armour, and men were running up to take off his cuirass and his robe, when the elephant began to protect[b] his master, and to attack the spoilers, and lifting the king's body, to place it upon his back. Therefore the beast was overwhelmed with weapons from all sides, and when he had been killed Porus was placed in a chariot.

41 When the king saw him lifting his eyes, moved by pity, not by hatred, he said: "What the mischief[c] was the madness which forced you, knowing the fame of my exploits, to try the fortune of war, when you had Taxiles, so near a neighbour, as an

42 example of my clemency?" But Porus answered: "Since you ask me, I will reply with that frankness

debo ea libertate quam interrogando fecisti; neminem me fortiorem esse censebam. Meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas; fortiorem esse te belli docuit eventus. Sed ne sic quidem
43 parum felix sum, secundus tibi." Rursus interrogatus quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret: " Quod hic," inquit, " dies tibi suadet, quo[1] expertus
44 es quam caduca felicitas esset." Plus monendo profecit quam si precatus esset; quippe magnitudinem animi eius interritam ac ne fortuna[2] quidem infractam non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore
45 excipere dignatus est. Aegrum curavit haud secus quam si pro ipso pugnasset; confirmatum contra spem omnium, in amicorum numerum recepit, mox
46 donavit ampliore regno quam tenuit. Nec sane quicquam ingenium eius solidius aut constantius habuit quam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae; simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste quam in cive. Quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse, eandem clariorem fore, quo maiores fuissent quos ipse vicisset.

[1] quo *Lauer;* quod *A.*
[2] fortuna *Giunta;* fortunam *A.*

which you have granted me in asking your question. I thought that no one was stronger than I. For I knew my strength, but had not yet tried yours. The outcome of war has shown that you are the stronger. But not even so am I unhappy in being second to
43 you." Being further asked how he thought the victor ought to treat him, he replied: "What this day advises you, on which you have learned how
44 perishable good fortune is." [a] Porus effected more by his admonition than if he had resorted to prayers; for the greatness of his spirit, unterrified and unbroken even by misfortune, Alexander saw fit to treat, not merely with compassion, but even with
45 honour. He had the wounded man attended to as if he had fought for him. When, contrary to the expectation of all, he recovered, Alexander received him into the number of his friends, and presently gave him a kingdom greater than he had held before.[b]
46 And truly there was no stronger and more consistent characteristic of his nature than admiration for true merit and glory; yet he estimated fame more frankly in an enemy than in a fellow citizen. For he believed that by his own countrymen his greatness could be impaired, but that it would be the more illustrious the greater those had been whom he had conquered.

[a] *Cf.* Arr. v. 19. 2, who says "treat me as a king" (*βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι*).

[b] *Cf.* Arr. v. 19. 3; Plut. *Alex.* lx. 8.

BOOK IX

CONTENTS OF BOOK IX

Alexander advances to the Hypasis River; he subdues many nations and cities, whose manners and customs are described (i).

When he prepares to cross the Hypasis and attack two powerful nations, his soldiers show signs of weariness and reluctance to go farther. The king appeals to their devotion in an eloquent speech (ii).

Coenus replies to the king in the name of the soldiers. Alexander finally turns back after setting up twelve altars as a memorial of his expedition, and founding Nicaea and Bucephala. He prepares a fleet and sails down the Hypasis. Coenus falls ill and dies (iii).

Alexander subdues the Sibi. He suffers great peril at the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines, but reaches the land of the Malli. The soldiers show renewed signs of disaffection, but a speech of the king rouses their enthusiasm. He defeats the barbarians, and in spite of the warning of a seer attacks their city (iv).

He leaps from the wall of the citadel into the midst of the enemy and, after fighting against great odds, is severely wounded but is rescued by members of his body-guard (v).

Before his wound is healed the king appears in public. His friends urge him to have more consideration for his own and the public safety. He expresses gratitude, but persists in his determination to conquer the whole world (vi).

Disturbances among the Greeks in Bactriana. Envoys from the Malli and the Sudracae offer submission. Alexander gives them a banquet, at which Dioxippus, an Athenian, and Corratas, a Macedonian, fight a duel. The Greek is victor, but kills himself because of the calumnies of his enemies (vii).

Alexander sails down the Indus to Patala and subdues the neighbouring tribes. Ptolemy is wounded by a poisoned arrow, and is miraculously cured (viii).

Alexander at last satisfies his longing to reach the Ocean, not without danger from the tides and the inexperience of his sailors (ix).

Leaving Nearchus to explore the Ocean with the fleet and come back by sea, Alexander returns through the great deserts of Cedrosia, where the army suffers greatly from hunger and disease. At length they reach Carmania and pass through it in a bacchanalian procession (x).

LIBER IX

I. Alexander tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi Orientis finis apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis caesis, milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli obirent, pro contione laudatos, docuit quidquid Indis virium fuisset, illa dimicatione prostra-
2 tum ; cetera opimam praedam fore celebratasque[1] opes in ea regione eminere quam peterent. Proinde iam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis ; gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Graeciamque, non suas tantum domos repleturos.[2]
3 Avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia numquam eos affirmatio eius fefellerat, pollicentur operam ; dimissisque cum bona spe navigia exaedificari iubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percucurrisset,[3]
4 finem terrarum, mare, inviseret. Multa materia navalis in proximis montibus erat ; quam caedere aggressi magnitudinis invisitatae repperere serpentes.

[1] celebratasque *Lauer;* celebratesque *A.*
[2] repleturos *I;* repleturum *A.*
[3] percucurrisset *C;* percurrisset *P.*

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[a] Diodorus says (xvii. 89. 3) that it was because that god had given him victory over the Orient. Arrian (v. 20. 1) merely says " to the gods."

BOOK IX

I. ALEXANDER, rejoicing in so memorable a victory, by which he believed that the bounds of the Orient were opened to him, sacrificed victims to the Sun[a]; then, in order that his soldiers also might meet the rest of the war with readier minds, he called an assembly, and after praising them informed them that whatever strength the Indi had possessed had
2 been overthrown in the recent battle; that hereafter there would be nothing but rich booty, and that world-renowned riches were conspicuous in that region to which they were on their way. Furthermore, he said that the spoils taken from[b] the Persians were now cheap and shabby, that his hearers would fill, not only their homes, but all Macedonia and Greece with gems and pearls and gold and ivory.
3 The soldiers, being eager both for wealth and for glory, and at the same time because no assertion of his had ever disappointed them, engaged their service; and when they had been dismissed full of good hope, he ordered ships to be built, in order that, when they had overrun all Asia, they might visit the
4 world's end, the sea. There was an abundance of timber[c] for ships in the neighbouring mountains, and when they began to attack it they found snakes

[b] *Cf. spolia de hostibus*, viii. 8. 9; ix. 10. 12.
[c] Especially cedar, Diod. xvii. 89. 4; Strabo xv. 1. 29.

5 Rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in eisdem montibus erant. Ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graecis ; sermonis eius ignari Indi[1] aliud lingua sua usurpant.

6 Rex, duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis quod superaverat ripa, copiarum duces coronis et M aureis singulos donat ; ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus[2] quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae 7 operae, honos habitus est. Abisares, qui, priusquam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit pollicentes omnia facturum quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere ; neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum 8 aut regnaturum esse captivum. Cui Alexander nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum.

Hinc, praerapido[3] amne superato, ad interiora 9 Indiae processit. Silvae erant prope in immensum spatium diffusae procerisque et in eximiam altitu- 10 dinem editis arboribus umbrosae. Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus qua se curvaverant erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatae. 11 Caeli temperies salubris ; quippe et vim solis umbrae

[1] Indi *added by Hedicke.* [2] gradus *Acidalius;* gradu *A.* [3] praerapido *Hedicke;* poro *A.*

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[a] Diod. xvii. 90. 1 says sixteen cubits in length ; they were pythons.

[b] *Cf.* viii. 9. 17, but the truth of the statement is doubtful.

[c] Nicaea and Bucephala, named in ix. 3. 23.

[d] A somewhat rare expression ; *cf.* Livy vii. 1. 8 ; xxxiv. 50. 7. So also *pro rata portione*, Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 15 (40).

of unheard-of size.[a] There were in those mountains rhinoceros also, an animal rare elsewhere.[b] This, however, was the name given to the beasts by the Greeks; the Indi, being unacquainted with that tongue, use another word in their own language.

6 The king, having founded two cities,[c] one on each bank of the river which he had crossed, presented each of the leaders of his forces with a crown of gold and a thousand gold-pieces; and to the rest also, according to the degree[d] or the rank which they held in his friendship or the extent of their services,

7 honour was paid. Abisares, who had sent envoys to Alexander before he fought with Porus, again sent others, promising that he would do everything that the king should order, provided only that he might not be compelled to surrender his person; for he would not live without royal power, nor reign as a captive.

8 To him Alexander ordered it to be announced that if Abisares was reluctant to come to him, he himself would come to Abisares.

Then, after crossing a very rapid river, he advanced

9 into the interior of India. There were forests[e] extending over an almost immeasurable space and given shade by trees towering to an enormous height.

10 Most of their branches, which were as huge as great trunks, being bent down to the earth, rose again from where they had curved, so that the appearance was, not of a branch rising again, but of a tree sprung

11 from its own roots.[f] The temperature of the air is wholesome; for the shade tempers the force of the sun, and there is an abundant flow of water from

[e] This shows that his march was at first towards the north.

[f] *Cf.* Strabo xv. 1. 21. The description fits the banyan (*Ficus Indica*); see also Arr. *Indica* 11. 7.

12 levant et aquae large manant e fontibus. Ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat, squamis fulgorem auri reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxium est; quippe morsum praesens mors seque-
13 batur donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyraotim.[1] Iunctum erat flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi invisitatis agrestiumque pavonum multitudine fre-
14 quens. Castris inde motis, oppidum haud procul positum corona capit, obsidibusque acceptis, stipendium imponit.

Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam.
15 Ceterum barbari, vehiculis inter se iunctis, dimicaturi occurrerunt; tela aliis hastae, aliis secures erant, transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum suc-
16 currere laborantibus suis vellent. Ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur; deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio, ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi, repugnantes
17 fodere coeperunt. Et vincula quis conserta erant iussit incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque, VIII milibus suorum amissis, in oppidum re-
18 fugerunt. Postero die, scalis undique admotis, muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas saluti fuit; qui ubi,[2] cognito urbis excidio, paludem transnavere, in vicina

[1] Hyraotim *Hedicke;* hiarotim *A.*
[2] ubi *added by Hedicke.*

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[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 90. 5.
[b] His march had turned southward, see note *e* on p. 367.

12 springs. But here also there was a great quantity of serpents,[a] whose scales shone with the brilliance of gold. No poison is more dangerous; for instant death followed their bite unless an antidote was
13 furnished by the natives. From there over deserts [b] they came to the river Hyraotis.[c] Close to the river was a shady grove, abounding in trees not seen else-
14 where and in a quantity of wild peafowl. Having moved his camp from there, Alexander took a near-by town by encirclement, and after receiving hostages imposed tribute upon it.

Next he came to a great city, for that region, protected not only by a wall but also by a marsh.[d]
15 But the barbarians sallied forth to battle with chariots joined together; some were armed with lances, others with axes, and they leaped rapidly from chariot to chariot, when they wished to aid their men who
16 were under difficulties. And at first the unusual kind of battle terrified the Macedonians, when they were wounded from a distance; then, scorning such a rude array, they surrounded the chariots on both
17 sides and began to kill those who resisted. And Alexander gave orders that the bonds by which the chariots were held together should be cut, in order that one by one they might be more easily surrounded. And so the enemy, after losing 8000 of
18 their number, fled back to the town. On the following day ladders were planted on all sides and the walls were carried by assault. A few were saved by their swiftness, and when these, knowing of the destruction of the city, swam across the marsh, they

[c] Hydraotis, Arr. v. 4. 2; the modern Ravi.
[d] This indicates that the city was probably in the vicinity of modern Lahore.

oppida ingentem intulere terrorem invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenisse memorantes.
19 Alexander, ad vastandam eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu misso, partem copiarum Eumeni tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros ad deditionem compelleret; ipse ceteros ad urbem validam, in quam
20 aliarum quoque confugerant incolae, duxit. Oppidani, missis qui regem deprecarentur, nihilo minus bellum parabant. Quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat[1] vulgum; alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant.
21 Sed dum nihil in commune consulitur, qui deditioni
22 imminebant apertis portis hostem recipiunt. Alexander, quamquam belli auctoribus iure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data et obsidibus acceptis, ad
23 proximam deinde urbem castra movit. Obsides ducebantur ante agmen; quos cum ex muris agnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in colloquium incolae vocaverunt.[2] Illi clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando ad deditionem eos compulere; ceterasque urbes simili modo domitas in fidem accepit.
24 Hinc in regnum Sopithis[3] perventum est. Gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellet bonisque moribus
25 regitur. Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum quibus spectandi infantum

[1] diduxerat *J. Froben;* deduxerat *A.*
[2] incolae vocaverunt *Damsté;* collocauerunt *P;* conuocauerunt *C.* [3] Sopithis *Mützell;* sophites *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. v. 24. 6. [b] *Cf.* Arr. vi. 2. 2.
[c] Comeliness and vigour the criteria; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 91. 5.

struck great terror into the neighbouring towns by declaring that an invincible army, surely made up of gods, had come.

19 Alexander sent Perdiccas with a light-armed band, to devastate that region, and delivered a part of the forces to Eumenes,[a] in order that he also might force the barbarians to surrender; Alexander himself led the rest to a strong city, in which the natives also of 20 other cities had taken refuge. The besieged sent envoys to beg the king for mercy, but nevertheless prepared for war. For a disagreement had arisen, which had divided the common people into divers opinions; some thought anything preferable to surrender, others that they had no power in themselves. 21 But while they could not come to an agreement, those who were eager for surrender opened the gates and 22 let in the enemy. Alexander, although he might justly have been angry with those who advocated war, having nevertheless pardoned them all and received hostages, moved his camp from there to the 23 next city. The hostages were led at the head of the army; when the inhabitants recognized them from the walls, since they were of the same nation they summoned them to a conference. The hostages by telling them of the king's clemency and at the same time of his power drove them to surrender; and he subdued the rest of the cities in a similar manner and received them under his protection.

24 From there he came into the realm of Sopithes.[b] That nation, as the barbarians believe, excels in wisdom and is governed in accordance with good 25 customs. The children that are born [c] they acknowledge and rear, not according to the discretion of their parents, but of those to whom the charge of

habitum cura mandata est. Si quos vitiis[1] insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt,
26 necari iubent. Nuptiis coeunt non genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia
27 eadem aestimatur in liberis. Huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebatur. Clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones deseruissent urbem incolae an
28 fraude se occulerent; cum subito, patefacta porta, rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multum
29 inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat, aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas, lacerti quo-
30 que et brachia margaritis ornata erant, pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli, baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito, precatus ut sospes acciperet, se liberosque et gentem suam dedidit.
31 Nobiles ad venandum canes in ea regione sunt; latratu abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram,
32 leonibus maxime infesti. Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consaeptum[2] leonem eximiae magnitudinis iussit emitti et quattuor omnino admoveri canes. Qui celeriter feram occupaverunt; tum ex eis[3]

[1] vitiis *added by Hedicke.*
[2] consaeptum *Mützell;* conseptu *A* (conspectu *B m. pr.*).
[3] iis *I;* his *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 91. 7; Strabo xv. 1. 30.
[b] See Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 56 (113).

the physical examination of children has been committed. If these have noted any who are conspicuous for defects or are crippled in some part of their limbs, they give orders to put them to death.
26 They marry, not because of consideration of family or rank, but of exceptional personal beauty, because
27 that is what is valued in the children. A town of this nation, against which Alexander had moved his forces, was held by Sopithes himself. The gates were shut, but no armed men showed themselves on the walls and in the towers, and the Macedonians were in doubt whether the inhabitants had deserted the city or had hidden themselves treacherously;
28 when suddenly a gate was opened and the Indian king with two grown-up sons presented himself, a man far surpassing all other barbarians in physical
29 attractiveness.[a] His robe, which covered his legs as well as the rest of his body, was embroidered with gold and purple, he wore golden sandals studded with gems, his shoulders and arms were adorned
30 with pearls and from his ears hung pearls conspicuous for whiteness[b] and size, his golden sceptre was ornamented with beryl. This he handed to Alexander with a prayer that he might receive it auspiciously and surrendered himself and his children along with his nation.
31 There are in that region dogs famous for hunting; they are said to abstain from barking when they have seen a wild beast, and they are especially enemies to
32 lions. In order to display their strength to Alexander, Sopithes ordered a lion of extraordinary size to be let into an enclosed space and only four dogs to be brought in. They quickly attacked the wild beast; then one of those who were accustomed to such ser-

qui assueverant talibus ministeriis unus[1] canis leoni
cum aliis inhaerentis crus avellere et, quia non seque-
33 batur, ferro amputare coepit. Ne sic quidem perti-
nacia victa, rursus aliam partem secare institit et
inde non segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedere;
at[2] ille in vulnere ferae dentes moribundus quoque
infixerat. Tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum
cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum
34 est. Equidem plura transcribo quam credo; nam
nec affirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec sub-
35 ducere quae accepi. Relicto igitur Sopithe in suo
regno, ad fluvium Hypasin processit, Hephaestione
36 qui diversam regionem subegerat coniuncto. Phe-
geus[3] erat gentis proximae rex; qui popularibus
suis colere agros, ut assueverant, iussis, Alexandro
cum donis occurrit, nihil quod imperaret detrectans.

II. Biduum apud eum substitit rex. Tertio die
amnem superare decreverat, transitu difficilem non
spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum;
2 percontatus[4] igitur Phegea quae noscenda erant, XII[5]
dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse
cognoscit, excipere deinde Gangen, maximum totius
3 Indiae fluminum, ulteriorem ripam colere gentes
Gangaridas et Prasios[6] eorumque regem esse Ag-
grammen, XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum

[1] unus *Giunta;* unius *A.*
[2] caedere; at *Hedicke;* caedebat *A.*
[3] Phegeus *I;* phegelis *A.*
[4] percontatus *J. Froben;* percunctatus *A.*
[5] XII *Vogel;* XI *A.*
[6] Prasios *Salmasius;* pharrasios *C;* pharassios *P.*

[a] This spelling has better authority than *Hyphasis.* The river is the Beas, before it joins the Sutlej.
[b] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 93. 1.

vices began to pull away the leg of a dog that with the others was clinging to the lion, and then, because the animal did not let go, to cut the leg off with a
33 knife. When even then the dog's persistency was not overcome, he began to cut another part, and when the dog held fast with equal strength, to make cuts at the dog's body as well; but the dog even in dying kept his teeth fixed in the lion's wound. Such is the eagerness for the chase which Nature is
34 reported to have implanted in those animals. As for myself, I report more things than I believe; for I cannot bring myself to vouch for that about which I am in doubt, nor to suppress what I have heard.
35 Alexander then, leaving Sopithes in his kingdom, advanced to the river Hypasis,[a] joined by Hephaes-
36 tion, who had subdued a different region. Phegeus[b] was king of the next nation; he gave orders to his subjects to work in the fields as they had been accustomed and went on to meet Alexander, refusing nothing which he should order.

II. The king remained with Phegeus for two days. On the third day he had decided to pass over the river, which was difficult to pass, not only because of the extent of its waters, but also because it was encum-
2 bered with rocks. Accordingly, having inquired of Phegeus what he needed to know, he learned that beyond the river there was a journey of twelve days through desert wastes and that then they came to
3 the Ganges, the greatest river of all India, and that on its farther bank dwelt the races called Gangaridae and Prasii; that their king was Aggrammes[c] and that he was blocking the roads with 20,000 cavalry

[c] The name (='Αγγράμμης=Angrammes) is doubtful; Diod. xvii. 93. 2 has *Sandrames*.

4 obsidentem vias. Ad hoc quadrigarum II milia trahere et, praecipuum terrorem, elephantos, quos III milium numerum explere dicebat.

5 Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur; igitur Porum —nam cum eo erat—percontatur an vera essent quae
6 dicerentur. Ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso iactari affirmat, ceterum, qui regnaret, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis; quippe patrem eius, tonsorem vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi
7 fuisse reginae. Ab ea in principiorem eius qui tum regnasset amicitiae locum admotum, interfecto eo per insidias, sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasisse regnum, necatisque pueris hunc qui nunc regnat generasse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis
8 paternae fortunae quam suae memorem. Affirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis iniecerat curam. Hostem beluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim
9 fluminum extimescebat; relegatos in ultimum paene rerum humanarum persequi terminum et eruere arduum videbatur, rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri
10 sinebat. Et interdum dubitabat an Macedones tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes facti, per obiecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent; abundantes onustosque praeda magis parta frui velle quam acquirenda[1]

[1] adquirenda *J. Froben;* adquerenda *A.*

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[a] For *eruere cf.* ix. 3. 8.
[b] A poetic expression; *cf.* Hor. *Ars Poet.* 323 ff.
[c] This did not apply to the whole army.

4 and 200,000 infantry. Besides this, he was leading 2000 chariots, and, a special cause of terror, elephants, of which Phegeus said that he had as many as 3000.
5 All this seemed incredible to Alexander; therefore he asked Porus—for he was with him—whether
6 what was said was true. Porus assured him that the strength of the nation and of the kingdom was not exaggerated, but that the ruler was not only of humble, but of the lowest condition; in fact, his father, a barber whose daily profit barely kept him from starving, because he was not bad looking had
7 been beloved by the queen. By her he had been advanced to intimate friendship with the king who then reigned, and having treacherously killed him, had usurped the throne under the pretext of guardianship of the king's children; then, having murdered the children, he had begotten the present king, who was hated and despised by his subjects and mindful
8 rather of his father's fortune than of his own. Porus' declaration had filled the king's mind with varied anxiety. He scorned the enemy and his beasts, but dreaded the nature of the terrain and the violence of
9 the rivers; it seemed a hard task to follow up and dislodge [a] those who had been relegated almost to the utmost limit of the human race, on the other hand, his eager thirst [b] for glory and his insatiable longing for renown allowed nothing to seem inacces-
10 sible, nothing remote. Also he doubted sometimes whether the Macedonians, after having traversed such an extent of country and grown old [c] in battle and in camp, would follow him over opposing rivers and through so many difficulties put in their way by nature; he feared that sated and loaded with booty they would prefer to enjoy what they had obtained

11 fatigari. Non idem sibi et militibus animi; sese[1] totius orbis imperium mente complexum adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare, militem labore defetigatum proximum quemque fructum, finito tandem periculo, expetere.

12 Vicit ergo cupido rationem, et ad contionem vocatis militibus, ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: "Non ignoro, milites, multa quae terrere vos possent ab incolis Indiae per hos dies de industria esse iactata;
13 sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas. Sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transiimus,
14 alterum ponte, terribiles[2] fecerant Persae. Numquam[3] ad liquidum Fama perducitur; omnia illa tradente maiora sunt vero. Nostra quoque gloria, cum sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quam
15 operis. Modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspem amnem, quis cetera auditu maiora quam veriora[4] sustineri[5] posse credebat? Olim, hercules, fugissemus ex Asia si nos fabulae debellare potuissent.

16 "Creditisne elephantorum greges maiores esse quam usquam armentorum sunt, cum et rarum sit animal nec facile capiatur multoque difficilius miti-

[1] sese *Hedicke;* esse *A.*
[2] terribiles *Bentley;* terribilem *A.*
[3] numquam *A* (*Post defends*); nil umquam *Damsté.*
[4] veriora *Hedicke, ed. min.;* uero *A.*
[5] sustineri *Bentley;* sustinere *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* ix. 3. 9.
[b] For *ad liquidum cf.* Livy xxxv. 8. 7; Quint. v. 14. 28.

rather than wear themselves out by acquiring more.
11 He realized that his mind and that of his soldiers was not the same ; he embraced in his thoughts the rule of the whole world and still stood at the beginning [a] of his task, but the soldiers, exhausted by toil, now that the danger was finally at an end sought the fruit of their labour which was nearest at hand.
12 Therefore ambition prevailed over reason, and having called the soldiers together, he addressed them in about these terms : " I know well, soldiers, that many things which may well alarm you have been spread abroad with that intent by the peoples
13 of India during recent days ; but such artifices of falsifiers are not unknown to you. It is thus that the Persians described as terrible the passes of Cilicia, the plains of Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates, one of which we crossed by a ford, the
14 other by a bridge. Repute is never transmitted with certainty [b] ; all things that she reports are exaggerated. Even our glory, although it rests on a solid
15 foundation,[c] is greater in name than in fact. But now, who could believe that beasts looking like walls,[d] that the river Hydaspes, that other obstacles greater to hear of than in reality, could be surmounted ? Long ago, by Heaven ! we should have fled from Asia if mere tales could have vanquished us.
16 " Do you believe that there are greater herds of elephants in India than of cattle anywhere else, although the elephant is a rare beast, is not easy to capture, and is tamed with still greater difficulty ? [e]

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *De Fin.* i. 18. 61 *solido nomine.*
[b] *Cf.* Amm. xxiv. 6. 8.
[c] This is denied by Strabo xv. 1. 42, and Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 7. 7 (23).

17 getur? Atqui eadem vanitas copias peditum equitumhoc numeravit. Nam flumen, quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat; quippe angustis ripis coercita et in angustiorem alveum elisa torrentes aquas inve-
18 hunt, contra spatio[1] alvei segnior cursus est. Praeterea in ripa omne periculum est, ubi applicantes navigia hostis exspectat. Ita, quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evaden-
19 tium in terram. Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus; utrumne nos[2] magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, praesens habemus exemplum; in suos vehementius quam in nos incucurrerunt; tam vasta corpora securi-
20 bus falcibusque mutilata sunt. Quid autem interest, totidem sint quot[3] Porus habuit, an III milia cum, uno aut altero vulnerato, videritis[4] ceteros in fugam
21 declinari? Dein paucos aegre[5] et incommode regunt; congregata vero tot milia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut, cum haberem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus plus suis quam hostibus periculi inferre.
22 "At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis et

[1] spatio *Francine;* statio *B VL;* stacio *FP.*
[2] nos *P;* vos *C.* [3] quot *Lauer;* quod *A.*
[4] vulnerato, videritis *Hedicke;* uulneratis *A.*
[5] aegre *Bentley;* quoque *A.*

[a] After the battle of Arbela (Gaugamela) and in India.

17 And yet it is with the same untruthfulness that they have numbered their forces of infantry and cavalry. Indeed, the wider the extent of a river, the more quietly it flows ; for when restrained by banks that are close together, and hence dashed into a narrower channel, they carry torrential waters, and on the contrary their course is more sluggish in a spacious
18 channel. Besides this, all the danger is at the bank, where the enemy awaits us as we are landing our boats. Hence, however great the river that intervenes, the danger will be the same when we dis-
19 embark on the land. But let us imagine that all those things are true ; do the great size of the beasts or the multitude of the enemy terrify us ? So far as the elephants are concerned, we have a recent experience before our eyes ; they rushed with greater fury against their own men than against us ; their bodies, great as they are, were mutilated by axes and
20 sickles. But what difference does it make whether they are as many as Porus had, or that there are 3000, when you have seen that after one or two are
21 wounded the rest are turned to flight ? Furthermore, they manage even a few elephants with difficulty and inconvenience ; but, when so many thousands are gathered together, they trample one another—where such huge and unwieldy masses of bodies have been able neither to stand nor to flee. For my part, I so despised those animals that after I had them,[a] I did not make use of them against the enemy, knowing well enough that they inflicted more damage on their own side than on the enemy.

22 " But, one may say, it is the multitude of infantry and cavalry which appals you ! For you have been accustomed to fight against small forces and now

23 nunc primum inconditam sustinebitis turbam. Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis et Cilicia inundata cruore[1] Persarum et Arbela, cuius campi devictorum a nobis ossibus
24 strati sunt. Sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam solitudinem in Asia vincendo fecistis. Cum per Hellespontum navigaremus de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit; nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia praesto sunt, Dahae Sogdianique inter
25 nos militant. Nec tamen illi turbae confido; vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem rerum quas gesturus sum vadem praedemque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo nec mei nec hostium exercitus numero; vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae
26 adhibete. Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus; pervenimus ad solis ortum et Oceanum. Nisi obstat ignavia, inde victores, perdomito fine terrarum, revertemur in patriam.

"Nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos
27 fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. Maiora sunt periculis praemia; dives eadem et imbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco quam ad praedam. Digni estis qui opes quas illud mare litoribus invehit referatis in patriam, digni qui nihil
28 inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis. Per vos gloriamque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos et in me vestra merita,

[1] cruore *Lauer;* feruore *A*.

[a] *Cf.* Aristoph. *Eq.* 570 *οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς πώποτ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἰδὼν ἠρίθμησεν.*

[b] *Cf.* ix. 4. 18 *trahi extra sidera et solem.*

[c] This does not agree with ix. 2. 3-4, nor with Arr. v. 25. 24.

[d] The pearls; see Amm. xxiii. 6. 85.

for the first time will have to withstand a disorderly
23 throng! Testimony to the invincible strength of the Macedonians against a superior number is given by the river Granicus, by the flooding of Cilicia with the blood of the Persians, and by Arbela, whose plains are strewn with the bones of those whom we
24 decisively defeated. You are late in having begun to count[a] the enemy's legions, after you have made a desert in Asia by your victories. When we were sailing through the Hellespont was the time to think of our small numbers; now the Scythians follow us, we have Bactrian auxiliaries at hand, the Dahae
25 and the Sogdiani are fighting in our ranks. Yet it is not in that mob that I trust. To your hands I look, your valour I have as a bail and a surety for what I am about to accomplish. So long as I shall stand in battle with you I do not number my army nor that of the enemy; do you only furnish me with hearts full
26 of enthusiasm and confidence. We stand, not on the threshold of our labours and toils, but at the end; we have come to the rising sun[b] and the Ocean. If cowardice does not stand in our way we shall return from there in triumph to our native land after subduing the whole world.

"Do not, as lazy husbandmen do, through negli-
27 gence let the ripe crop escape your grasp. The prizes are greater than the dangers; that region is both rich and unwarlike.[c] Therefore I am leading you not so much to glory as to booty. You deserve to bear back to your native land the wealth which that sea casts upon its shores,[d] you deserve it because you have left nothing untried, nothing neglected
28 through fear. By yourselves and your glory, in which you rise above human heights, and by your services

quibus invicem[1] contendimus, oro quaesoque ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, desera-
29 tis. Cetera vobis imperavi; hoc unum debiturus sum. Et is vos rogo qui nihil umquam vobis praecepi quin[2] primus me periculis obtulerim,[3] qui saepe aciem clipeo meo texi. Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si
30 invidia afuerit, aequabo. Date hoc precibus meis et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites, nec agnosci videor a vobis. Surdas iam dudum aures pulso, aversos animos et infractos excitare conor."
31 Cumque illi, in terram demissis capitibus, tacere perseverarent: "Nescio quid," inquit, "in vos imprudens deliqui, quod me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet,
32 nemo saltem negat. Quos alloquor? quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus.[4] Ubi sunt illi quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contendentium qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent? Desertus, destitutus sum, hos-
33 tibus deditus. Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Obicite me fluminibus et beluis et illis gentibus

[1] invicem *Bentley;* inuicti *A.* [2] quin *Giunta;* qui *A.*
[3] obtulerim *Giunta;* obtuli *A.*
[4] vindicamus *J. Froben;* indicamus *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 5. 8 *eundem regem et commilitonem.*
[b] *Cf.* Sen. *Phoeniss.* 638 *frangenda palma est.*
[c] A rare use of *autem.*
[d] *vindicamus* is a plural of majesty, *vestram* is an ordinary plural.

to me and mine to you, in which we rival each other, I beg and implore you not to desert your foster-child and fellow soldier, not to say your king,[a] as he is
29 approaching the ends of the universe. All the rest I have ordered you to do; this one thing I shall owe you. And I who ask this of you am one who has never ordered you to do anything without first exposing himself to its dangers, one who has often covered the army with his shield. Do not break the palm [b] that is in my hands, with which I shall equal Hercules and Father Liber, if Nemesis withhold her
30 hands. Grant this to my prayers, and at last break your persistent silence. Where are those shouts, the sign of your eagerness? Where is that look on the faces of my Macedonians? I do not recognize you, my soldiers, nor do I seem to be recognized by you. For a long time I have been knocking at deaf ears, I have been trying to arouse estranged and broken spirits."

31 And when, with faces lowered towards the earth, they persisted in keeping silence, he continued: "I have unintentionally failed you, in some way or other, that you do not wish even to look upon me. I seem to myself to be in a desert. No one replies, no one
32 at least refuses. Whom am I addressing? What then [c] do I demand? It is your own glory and greatness that we [d] are upholding. Where are those whom but now I saw vying with one another as to who should have the honour of carrying the body of their wounded king? I am deserted, abandoned, given
33 up to the enemy. But even alone I shall persist in going on.[e] Expose me to the rivers, the beasts, and

[e] He speaks more bitterly in Arr. v. 28. 2, *cf.* Curt. x. 2. 25-29.

quarum nomina horretis ; inveniam qui desertum a vobis sequantur. Scythae Bactrianique erunt me-
34 cum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. Mori praestat quam precario imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos ! ite deserto rege ovantes ! Ego hic aut[1] vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam."

III. Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Exspectabant ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos, non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse.
2 Ceterum illi, metu attoniti, in terram ora defixerant. Igitur primo fremitus sua sponte, deinde gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius dolor egeri[2] coepit, manantibus lacrimis, adeo ut rex ira in misericordiam versa ne ipse quidem, quamquam cupiebat,[3]
3 temperare oculis potuerit. Tandem, universa contione effusius flente, Coenus[4] ausus est, cunctantibus ceteris, propius tribunal accedere, significans se loqui
4 velle. Quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti—ita enim regem alloqui mos est—hortari
5 coeperunt ut causam exercitus ageret. Tum Coenus : " Dii prohibeant," inquit, " a nobis impias mentes ! Et profecto prohibent ; idem animus est tuis, qui fuit semper, ire quo iusseris, pugnare, periclitari,

[1] aut *Bentley;* a *A.* [2] egeri *Gebhard;* erigi *A.*
[3] cupiebat *Kinch;* cupierat *P;* cuperat *C.*
[4] Coenos *Aldus;* poenus *A* (*so below*).

[a] For *precario cf.* iv. 7. 1.

those nations whose mere names you dread. I shall find men to follow me, deserted though I am by you. With me will be the Scythians and the Bactriani, a
34 while ago our enemies, now our soldiers. It is better to die than to command on sufferance.[a] Go then back to your homes. Go in triumph after having abandoned your king. Here I shall find either the victory of which you despair or opportunity for an honourable death."

III. Not even thus could a word be forced from any of the soldiers. They were waiting for their generals and chief officers to bear the news to the king that, worn out by wounds and the unremitting toil of military service, they did not refuse their duties, but
2 were no longer able to endure them. But the generals, overwhelmed with fear, kept their eyes riveted on the ground.

Then first an involuntary murmur, then also groans were heard, and little by little sadness began to be shown more freely by such floods of tears that the king's anger was turned to compassion, and he himself, though he strove to do so, could not control his
3 eyes. At length, when the whole assembly was dissolved in tears, Coenus, while the rest hesitated, had ventured to approach nearer to the tribunal,
4 indicating that he desired to speak. When the soldiers saw him removing his helmet from his head —for so it is customary to address the king—they began to urge him to plead the cause of the army.
5 Then Coenus said: "The gods forbid that we should have impious thoughts. And surely they do forbid it; the feelings of your soldiers are the same that they always have been, namely, to go wherever you order, to fight, to incur danger, at the price of our blood to

sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde, si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exsangues, utcumque tibi cordi est sequimur vel antecedimus.

6 " Sed si audire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verum necessitate ultima expressas, praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspicium tuum constantissime secutis et quocumque pergis secuturis.
7 Vicisti, rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modo, sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, implevimus. Emensis maria terrasque, melius nobis quam incolis omnia nota sunt. Paene in ultimo
8 mundi fine consistimus. In alium orbem paras ire et Indiam quaeris Indis quoque ignotam. Inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura quam sol videt vic-
9 toria lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in[1] incremento
10 erit, nostra vis iam in fine est. Intuere corpora exsanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria. Iam tela hebetia sunt, iam arma deficiunt.

" Vestem Persicam induti,[2] quia domestica subvehi non potest, in externum degeneravimus cultum.
11 Quoto cuique lorica est ? quis equum habet ? Iube quaeri quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint,[3] quid[4] cuique supersit ex praeda. Omnium victores

[1] in *added in I.*
[2] induti *Kinch;* induit *P;* indui *C* (*adding in marg.* mus *or* *Λ* induimus).
[3] sint *Zumpt;* sunt *A.* [4] quid *J. Froben;* quod *A.*

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[a] Not wholly exaggeration, because of the deep and dark valleys in the mountains.
[b] *Cf. exsanguis senectus,* Lucan i. 343.

hand your name down to future generations. Therefore, if you persist, we, even unarmed, naked, and worn out, follow wherever you desire, or lead the way.

6 "But if you are willing to hear from your soldiers words that are not false, but are wrung from them by dire necessity, lend, I beg you, propitious ears to those who have most faithfully followed your command and your auspices and will follow them whither-
7 soever you go. You have conquered, my king, by the greatness of your exploits, not the enemy alone, but also your own soldiers. Whatever mortals were able to endure we have fulfilled. We have traversed seas and lands, and everything there is better known to us than to the natives. We stand almost at the
8 very end of the world. You are preparing to go into another world, and to seek an India unknown even to the Indi. You seek to bring out of their lurking-places and lairs those who dwell among wild beasts and serpents, in order that you may survey in vic-
9 tory more places than the sun looks upon.[a] The thought is most worthy of your spirit, but too lofty for ours. For your valour will ever be on the increase,
10 our strength is already at an end. Look upon these bodies drained of blood,[b] pierced by so many wounds, rotted by so many scars. Already our weapons are dull, already our armour is giving out.[c]

"Clad in Persian dress, because that of our own country cannot be brought to us, we have degener-
11 ated into foreign ways. How many of us have a cuirass? Who has a horse? Bid it be asked how many are attended by their own slaves, what each man has left from his booty. Victors over all, we

[c] *e.g.* some ships are so old that they have to be burned: ix. 3. 22.

omnium inopes sumus. Nec luxuria laboramus, sed
12 bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies beluis? Quarum ut multitudinem augeant de industria barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum etiam ex men-
13 dacio intellego. Quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minus vasta est; qua subacta, licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus
14 humanis terminum voluit esse natura. Cur circuitu petis gloriam quae ad manum posita est? Hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus
15 quo tua fortuna ducit. Haec tecum quam sine te cum his loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potius quam gemitum murmurantium audires."
16 Ut finem orationi Coenus imposuit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur, regem, patrem, dominum con-
17 fusis appellantium vocibus. Iamque et alii duces praecipueque seniores, quis ob aetatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas maior, eadem precaban-
18 tur. Ille nec castigare obstinatos nec mitigari[1] poterat iratus; itaque inops consilii desiluit ex[2] tribunali claudique regiam iussit, omnibus praeter

[1] mitigari *Kinch;* mitigare *C;* mig*are *P.*
[2] ex *Hedicke;* et *P;* e *C.*

[a] The distance is greatly minimized; it took Alexander almost a year to cover it; *cf.* Strabo xv. 1. 17.

lack everything. And we are not suffering because of luxury, but it is in war that we have used up the
12 equipment for war. Will you expose this most noble army naked to wild beasts? Of these, although the barbarians purposely exaggerate the multitude, yet even from their false report I know that the number
13 is great. But if you are still determined to penetrate farther into India, the southern part of that region is less immense; when that has been subdued, you may run down to that sea which Nature has decreed
14 should be be the boundary of human affairs. Why do you seek glory by a long circuit when it lies at your hand?[a] Here too the Ocean meets you. Unless you prefer to wander about, we have reached
15 the place to which your fortune is leading you. I have preferred to say these things in your presence rather than to discuss them with the men in your absence, not with a view to gaining favour with the army here assembled, but that you might hear from my lips the voice of those who speak out rather than the groans of those who grumble."

16 When Coenus had ended his address, shouts arose from every side mingled with lamentations, as in a medley of voices they called out "king," "father"
17 and "lord." And now also the other generals, and especially the older ones, for whom because of their age it was both more honourable to ask for an excuse and whose authority was greater, gave
18 utterance to the same entreaties. Alexander found himself unable either to rebuke them for their obstinacy or to be appeased in his anger; therefore, being at a loss what to do, he leaped down from the tribunal, ordered the royal quarters to be closed, and all to be refused admission except his regular

19 assuetos adire prohibitis. Biduum irae datum est; tertio die processit erigique[1] duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum[2] expeditionis suae, munimenta quoque castrorum iussit extendi cubiliaque amplioris formae quam pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum praeparans.

20 Hinc repetens quae emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinen[3] locat castra. Ibi forte Coenus morbo exstinctus est; cuius morte ingemuit quidem rex, adiecit tamen propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tamquam solus Macedoniam visurus
21 esset. Iam in aqua classis quam aedificari iusserat stabat. Inter haec[4] Memno ex Thracia in supplementum equitum v milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum vii milia adduxerat armaque xxv milibus
22 auro et argento caelata pertulerat. Quis distributis, vetera cremari iussit. Mille navigiis aditurus Oceanum, discordesque et vetera odia retractantes Porum

[1] erigique *J. Froben;* e regia qui *A.*
[2] monumentum *J. Froben;* munimentum *A.*
[3] Acesinen *Hedicke;* acaestimen *P;* acasatimem *BF;* acestimem *LV.*
[4] Inter haec *Giunta;* in hac *A.*

[a] Also in hope that the soldiers would change their minds. Diod. xvii. 94. 3-4 says that he offered the soldiers an opportunity to plunder the rich country on the river, and made presents to their wives and children.

[b] Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin agree with this. Arrian (v. 29. 1) says nothing of it, but speaks of the altars as of great size.

[c] The Chenab. But in fact Alexander, having turned back at the Hypasis, marched as far as the Hydaspes; see p. 394, note *a*, Strabo xv. 1. 32, and Aristobulus in Strabo xv. 1. 17. Curtius' error is shared by Diodorus and Justin, who in

19 attendants. Two days were spent in anger[a]; on the third day he came out and ordered twelve altars of squared stone to be erected as a memorial of his expedition. He also gave directions that the fortifications of the camp be extended, and couches of a larger size than were used by men of ordinary stature be left there, in order that by exaggerating the proportion of everything he might prepare a deceptive wonder for posterity.[b]

20 From here he retraced the ground which he had covered and encamped near the river Acesines.[c] There, as it chanced, Coenus was taken ill and died.[d] The king was in fact grieved by his death, but could not forbear to remark that Coenus for the sake of a few days [e] had begun a long harangue, as if he alone

21 were destined to see Macedonia again. Already the fleet which he had ordered to be built was afloat in the river.[f] Meanwhile Memnon had brought from Thrace a reinforcement of 5000 horsemen, and besides these 7000 foot-soldiers from Harpalus, for 25,000 men

22 sets of armour inlaid with gold and silver. These Alexander distributed and ordered the old ones to be burned. Intending to make for the Ocean with a thousand ships,[g] he left Porus and Taxiles, the Indian

general follow the same sources as he. The Hypasis (Beas) and the Hydaspes (Sutlej) become one river in due course.

[a] According to Arrian vi. 2. 1, Coenus died when Alexander had reached the Hydaspes and prepared his fleet.

[e] Curtius is more rhetorical than exact; the time was considerably more than "a few days."

[f] The Hydaspes, not the Acesines. See Arr. vi. 1. 1, and for what Alexander did at the Acesines v. 29. 3.

[g] According to Arrian vi. 2. 4, the number of ships and boats was nearly 2000, of which 80 had thirty oars each; so also Diod. xvii. 95. 5, who agrees with Curtius as to the whole number.

et Taxilen, Indiae reges, firmatae per affinitatem gratiae reliquit in suis regnis, summo in aedificanda
23 classe amborum studio usus. Oppida quoque duo condidit; quorum alterum Nicaeam appellavit, alterum Bucephala,[1] equi quem amiserat memoriae ac
24 nomini dedicans urbem. Elephantis deinde et impedimentis terra sequi iussis, secundo amne defluxit quadraginta ferme stadia singulis diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent.

IV. Perventum erat in regionem in qua Hydaspes
2 amnis Acesini[2] committitur; hinc decurrit in fines Siborum.[3] Hi de exercitu Herculis maiores suos esse
3 memorant; aegros relictos[4] cepisse sedem quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela
4 erant, multaque etiam, cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia. Hinc escensione facta, CC et L stadia excessit depopulatusque regionem,
5 oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit. XL milia peditum alia gens in ripa fluminum opposuerat; quae, amne superato, in fugam compulit inclusosque moenibus expugnat. Puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt.
6 Alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus, magnaque

[1] Bucephala *Hedicke;* bucephalum *A* (bucefalum *V*).
[2] Acesini *Modius;* acessino *A*.
[3] Siborum *Zumpt;* soborum *A*.
[4] relictos *Acidalius;* relictos esse *C;* relictos se *P*.

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[a] These are the ones named in ix. 1. 6, see note. In the source followed by Curtius and Diodorus, either the Acesines was confused with the Hydaspes, or the account of the march from the Acesines to the Hydaspes was omitted.

[b] Inaccurate; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 96. 1; Arr. vi. 2. 2.

[c] *Sibae,* Arr. and Strabo xv. 1. 8 and 1. 33, but the Sanscrit is *Sivi,* showing the v-sound of *β* at this time.

[d] *Cf.* viii. 14. 11, note.

kings, who had been at odds and reviving old feuds, in friendly relations strengthened by an alliance by marriage, and established each in his own sovereignty because he had received the greatest service from
23 them in building his fleet. He also founded[a] two towns, of which he called one Nicaea and the other Bucephala, dedicating the latter to the name and
24 memory of the horse which he had lost. Then, having given orders that the elephants and the baggage should follow by land,[b] he sailed down the river, advancing about forty stadia each day, to allow the troops to be landed from time to time where there were convenient places.

IV. They had come into the country where the
2 Hydaspes unites with the Acesines. From there the river flows into the country of the Sibi.[c] These people allege that their forefathers belonged to the army of Hercules[d]; that being left behind on account of sickness, they had gained possession of the abode
3 in which their posterity were living. They dressed in the skins of wild beasts, their weapons were clubs, and they also showed many traces of their origin, although Greek customs had become obsolete.
4 Having made a landing there, he went on for a distance of two hundred and fifty stadia, and after devastating the region, by an assault on all sides took
5 the town which was its capital. Another nation had opposed 40,000 foot-soldiers on the bank of the rivers[e]; Alexander crossed the Acesines, drove them within their walls, and took their town by assault. Those of military age were put to death, the rest
6 were sold. Then, having attempted to storm a

[e] The united Acesines and Hydaspes; *amne* refers probably to the former.

vi defendentium pulsus, multos Macedonum amisit. Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani, desperata salute, ignem subiecere[1] tectis seque[2] ac
7 liberos coniugesque incendio cremant. Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes exstinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat; delebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant.[3] Adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat.[4]
8 Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidio invalidos reliquit. Ipse est[5] navigiis circumvectus arcem. Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangen maxima munimento arcis applicant undas; a septentrione Indus alluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur.
9 Ceterum amnium coetus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter qua meatur[6] navigiis
10 in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautae vela coeperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc aestu,[7] hinc praerapida celeri-
11 tate fluminum occupantur. In oculis omnium duo maiora[8] navigia submersa sunt; leviora, cum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit, quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi impatiens age-
12 batur. Iam vestem detraxerat corpori, proiecturus

[1] subiecere *I;* subicere *A.* [2] seque *Hedicke;* se quoque *A.*
[3] defendebant *J. Froben;* extinguebant *A.*
[4] mutat *Lauer;* mutant *A.* [5] est *added by Hedicke.*
[6] meatur *Heinse;* meat *A.* [7] aestu *Jeep;* cetu *A.*
[8] omnium duo maiora *Acidalius;* duo maiora omnium *C;* duo maiora *P.*

[a] Diod. xvii. 96. 4 f. gives a different account.
[b] *i.e.* to brail up; see *Class. Jour.* vi. 75-77.

second city, but being repulsed by the great strength of its defenders, he lost many of the Macedonians. But when he had persisted in besieging it, the inhabitants, despairing of safety, set fire to their houses and burned to death in the flames themselves and their
7 wives and their children.[a] Since they themselves were spreading the fire, while the enemy were trying to put it out, a novel kind of battle took place; the inhabitants were trying to destroy their city, the enemy were defending it. So completely does war invert even the laws of Nature.
8 The citadel of the town was unharmed, and in it Alexander left his sick as a garrison. He himself sailed around the fortress in his ships. For the three greatest rivers of all India except the Ganges protect its fortifications with their waters; on the north the Indus washes them, on the south the Acesines unites
9 with the Hydaspes. Moreover, the union of the rivers raises billows like those of the sea, and the abundance of turbid silt, which is constantly shifted by the confluent waters, compresses the way where it
10 is navigable by boats into a narrow channel. Therefore, since wave after wave met them, and struck now the prows and now the sides of the ships, the sailors began to furl[b] the sails. But their efforts were thwarted, partly by the surging waves, partly
11 by the very rapid flow of the rivers. In the sight of all two of the greater ships were sunk; the lighter ones, although they also could not be managed, were nevertheless thrown out on the bank uninjured. The king himself was carried into the swiftest of the eddies, by which his ship was turned sidewise and
12 driven on without obeying its helm. Already he had taken off his clothing, intending to plunge into

semet in flumen, amicique, ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant, apparebatque anceps periculum tam
13 nataturi quam navigare perseverantis ; ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat admota est, ut fluctus, qui se invehebant,
14 everberarentur. Findi crederes undas et retro gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis erepta, non tamen ripae applicatur, sed in proximum vadum illiditur. Cum amne bellum fuisse crederes. Ergo aris pro numero fluminum positis sacrificioque facto, xxx stadia processit.

15 Inde ventum est in regionem Sudracarum Mallorumque, quos alias bellare inter se solitos, tunc periculi societas iunxerat. Nonaginta milia iuniorum peditum in armis erant, praeter hos equitum x milia
16 nongentaeque quadrigae. At Macedones, qui omni discrimine iam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, improviso metu territi, rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt :
17 Gangen amnem et quae ultra essent coactos transmittere non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum. Indomitis gentibus se obiectos, ut sanguine suo
18 aperirent ei Oceanum. Trahi extra sidera et solem cogique adire quae mortalium oculis Natura subduxerit.[1] Novis identidem armis novos hostes exsis-

[1] subduxerit *Acidalius;* subduxerat *A.*

[a] The number is uncertain ; Diod. xvii. 98. 1 makes it more than 80,000.
[b] *Cf.* ix. 4. 24 ; Arr. vi. 4. 3 ; Plut. *Alex.* lxiii. 1.
[c] *Cf.* iv. 8. 3. [d] *Cf.* Sen. *Suas.* i. 4.

the river, and his friends were swimming near by ready to pick him up, and it appeared equally dangerous either to take to swimming or to persist
13 in sailing on; therefore they plied the oars with mighty rivalry, and did all that human power could do to break through the waves which dashed upon
14 them. You might have thought that the billows were cloven and that the surges were forced to retreat. When at last the ship was saved from these, it nevertheless could not be brought to the bank, but was dashed upon the nearest shoal. You would have thought that a war had been waged with the river. Accordingly, Alexander set up as many altars as there were streams, and having offered sacrifice, went on for thirty stadia.

15 From there he came into the land of the Sudracae and the Malli, who at other times were usually at war with each other, but then had united in the face of the common danger. They had 90,000 younger foot-soldiers,[a] and besides these 10,000 horsemen
16 and 900 chariots. But when the Macedonians, who believed that they had already encountered every danger, knew that a fresh war with the most warlike nations of India[b] still remained, they were struck with sudden fear, and began again to upbraid
17 the king with mutinous language: that after being compelled to cross the Ganges and the regions beyond it, they had nevertheless not ended, but only shifted, the war. They were exposed to unconquered nations in order that at the cost of their blood they might
18 open a way for him to the Ocean. They were being dragged beyond the constellations and the sun[c] and forced to approach places which Nature had withdrawn from the sight of mortals.[d] For their new arms

tere. Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum immanium beluarum gregibus fretum, immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit.

19 Rex non sua, sed militum sollicitudine anxius, contione advocata, docet imbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deinde praeter has gentes obstare quominus terrarum spatia emensi, ad finem simul mundi labo-
20 rumque[1] perveniant. Concessisse[2] illis metuentibus Gangen et multitudinem nationum quae ultra amnem essent; declinasse iter eo ubi par gloria minus
21 periculum esset. Iam prospicere se Oceanum, iam perflare ad ipsos auram maris;[a] ne inviderent sibi laudem quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros illos, regi suo parvo impendio immortalitatem famae daturos. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere.

22 Omnis multitudo et maxime militaris mobilis[3] impetu effertur[4]; ita seditionis non remedia quam
23 principia maiora sunt. Non alias tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus; iubent eum ducere[5] dis secundis, aequareque[6] gloria quos aemularetur. Laetus his acclamationibus, ad hostes protinus castra
24 movit. Validissimae Indorum gentes erant et bellum impigre parabant ducemque ex natione Sudracarum

[1] laborumque *I;* laboremque *A.*
[2] Concessisse *Hedicke;* cessisse *A.*
[3] mobilis *Hedicke;* mobili *A.*
[4] effertur *Vindelinus;* adfertur *A.*
[5] iubent eum ducere *Hedicke;* iubentium duceret *A.*
[6] aequareque *Hedicke;* aequaretque *A.*

[a] A rhetorical exaggeration; see ix. 9. 3.
[b] *i.e.* Hercules and Father Liber; see ix. 4. 21, above.

new enemies constantly appeared. Granted that they routed and put to flight all these, what reward awaited them? Gloom and darkness, and perpetual night brooding over an unplumbed sea, a deep teeming with schools of savage sea-monsters, stagnant waters in which expiring Nature had met her end.

19 The king, disturbed by anxiety, not for himself but for his soldiers, having called an assembly, told them that those whom they feared were unwarlike; that after these no other nations stood in their way of traversing all the wide spaces which remained and coming to the end of the world and at the same time to
20 the end of their labours. The Ganges and the multitude of nations which were beyond that river he had sacrificed to their fears; he had diverted his arms to a quarter where there was equal glory but less danger.
21 Already they were in sight of the Ocean,[a] already the breezes of the sea were wafted to them; let them not begrudge him the renown which he sought. They would pass the bournes of Hercules and Father Liber, and thus give their king immortal fame at little cost to themselves. Let them allow him to return from India, not to leave it in flight.

22 Every assemblage, especially one of soldiers, is fickle and carried away by impulse; thus is sedition
23 no harder to quell than to arouse. Never before were such cries of joy sent forth by the army; they bid him lead on with the favour of the gods, and to equal in glory those whom he is emulating.[b] Alexander, elated by these acclamations, at once broke
24 camp and moved against the enemy. These were the strongest nations of the Indi; they were making vigorous preparations for war and had chosen as their leader one of the nation of the Sudracae, a

spectatae virtutis elegerant; qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit lateque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit, clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem acquiescentes Macedonas
25 frustra terrere conatus. Iam lux appetebat, cum rex fiduciae ac spei plenus alacres milites arma capere et exire in aciem iubet. Sed—haud[1] traditur metune an oborta seditione inter ipsos—subito profugerunt barbari certe et[2] avios montes et impeditos occupaverunt. Quorum agmen rex frustra persecutus, impedimenta cepit.

26 Perventum deinde est ad oppidum Sudracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, haud maiore fiducia
27 moenium quam armorum. Iam admovebat rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, ne committeret aut certe differret obsidionem; vitae eius periculum
28 ostendi. Rex Demophontem—is namque vates erat —intuens: "Si quis," inquit, "te arti tuae intentum et exta spectantem sic interpellet, non dubitem quin
29 incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit." Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset: "Censesne," inquit, "tantas res, non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti ullum esse maius impedimentum quam
30 vatem superstitione captum?" Nec diutius quam respondit moratus, admoveri iubet scalas, cunctantibusque ceteris, evadit in murum. Angusta muri

[1] haud *Acidalius;* ut *A.* [2] et *added by Hedicke.*

[a] Really, of the Malli; Arr. vi. 11. 3.

man of tried valour; he had encamped at the foot of a mountain and showed fires far and wide in order to increase the impression of his numbers, also vainly trying after the fashion of his nation from time to time by shouts and yells to terrify the unperturbed
25 Macedonians. And daylight was already approaching, when the king, now confident and full of hope, ordered his eager soldiers to arm themselves and go forth to battle. But the barbarians—it is not known whether through fear or because a disagreement had arisen among them—at any rate suddenly took to flight and gained the mountains, which were remote and full of obstacles. The king vainly pursued their army, but took their baggage.
26 Next they arrived at a town of the Sudracae [a] in which many of the enemy had taken refuge, although they had no greater confidence in their walls than
27 in their arms. The king was already approaching them, when a soothsayer began to warn him not to enter on a siege, or at any rate to postpone it; that
28 danger to his life was indicated. The king, fixing his gaze upon Demophon—for that was the soothsayer's name—said: "If anyone should thus interrupt you when you were intent upon your art and were inspecting the entrails, I doubt not that he
29 would impress you as tactless and annoying." And when Demophon replied that it would most certainly be so, Alexander rejoined: "Do you not think that to me, having before my eyes such important affairs, and not the entrails of animals, nothing could be a greater hindrance than a seer enslaved by superstition?"
30 And with no longer delay than making this answer required, he ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and while the rest hesitated, himself mounted the

corona erat; non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium eius distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum
31 saepserat. Itaque rex haerebat magis quam stabat in margine, clipeo undique incidentia tela propulsans;
32 nam ipse[1] eminus ex turribus petebatur, nec subire milites poterant, quia superne vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem[2] periculi pudor vicit; quippe cernebant cunctatione sua dedi hostibus
33 regem. Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravere scalas; quis non sufficientibus, devoluti unicam spem regis fefellerunt. Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitus velut in solitudine destitutus.

V. Iamque laevam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat, clamantibus amicis ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi; cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam multoque magis ad
2 famam temeritatis quam gloriae insignem. Namque in urbem hostium plenam praecipiti saltu semet ipse immisit, cum vix sperare posset dimicantem certe et non inultum esse moriturum; quippe, antequam
3 assurgeret, opprimi poterat et capi vivus. Sed forte ita libraverat corpus ut se pedibus exciperet; itaque stans init pugnam. Et ne circumiri posset[3] fortuna

[1] ipse *Hedicke;* ubique *C;* ubi *P.*
[2] telorum (*after* magnitudinem) *deleted by J. Froben.*
[3] posset *Lauer;* possit *C.*

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[a] See Arr. vi. 9. 2-3, who says that he entered the city through a gate, and then mounted on a ladder to the citadel.

[b] That is, the towers of the citadel.

[c] According to Arrian (vi. 9. 3-4), Peucestes and Leonnatus came up the same ladder as the king, and Abreas by another ladder.

[d] See Arr. vi. 9. 5 and Diod. xvii. 99. 1, who give the king's motive more clearly.

wall.[a] The crown of the wall was narrow and its summit was not marked by battlements, as is usually the case, but a parapet was built all along it and pre-
31 vented assailants from crossing it. Hence the king was rather clinging to this parapet than standing on its edge, defending himself with his buckler from the
32 spears that fell upon him from every side; for he was being attacked at long range from the towers[b] and his soldiers could not come up[c] because they were overwhelmed by a storm of weapons from above. But at last shame overcame the greatness of their peril; for they saw that by their delay the king was
33 being abandoned to the enemy. But their help was delayed by their hurry; for while each man strove to be the first to reach the top of the wall they overloaded the ladders; and when these could not hold the burden put upon them, they fell and thus deprived the king of his sole hope. For in the sight of so great an army he stood alone, as if left utterly deserted.

V. By this time he had tired his left hand, by which he was shifting his shield about to parry the shots, and his friends were shouting to him to leap down to them, and were standing ready to catch him; when he dared an incredible and unheard-of deed, one which added much more to his reputation for rashness
2 than to his glory. For with a headlong leap he threw himself into the city filled with enemies, although he could hardly hope[d] that he would at least die fighting and not unavenged; for before he could rise to his feet, he was likely to be overpowered and taken
3 prisoner. But by good luck he had balanced his body so well that he alighted on his feet; hence he was standing erect when he began to fight. Fortune

providerat. Vetusta arbor haud procul muro ramos multa fronde vestitos, velut de industria regem protegentes, obiecerat; huius spatioso stipiti corpus, ne circumiri posset, applicuit, clipeo tela quae ex adverso ingerebantur excipiens. Nam cum[1] summa vi unum procul tot manus peterent, nemo tamen auderet[2] propius accedere missilia ramis plura quam clipeo incidebant.

Pugnabat pro rege primum celebrati nominis fama, deinde desperatio, magnum ad honeste moriendum incitamentum. Sed cum subinde hostis affligeret, iam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clipeo, iam galeam saxa perfregerant, iam continuo labore gravata genua succiderant. Itaque contemptim et incaute, qui proximi steterant incurrerunt; e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimes procumberent. Nec cuiquam deinde propius incessendi eum animus fuit; procul iacula sagittasque mittebant. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus, non aegre tamen[3] exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam—namque Indis, ut antea diximus, huius magnitudinis sagittae erant—ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum infigeret. Quo vulnere afflictus, magna vi sanguinis emicante, remisit arma moribundo similis adeoque resolutus ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextra. Itaque ad spoliandum corpus qui vulnera-

[1] comminus (*after* cum) *deleted by Aldus.*
[2] auderet *Bentley;* audebat *A.* [3] tamen *Jeep;* iam *A.*

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[a] So Diodorus and Justin; Arrian does not mention the tree. [b] viii. 9. 28.

had also provided that he could not be surrounded;
4 for an aged tree,[a] standing close to the wall, had thrown out its branches, thickly clothed with leaves, as if for the very purpose of protecting the king; against the huge trunk of this he took his place, in such a way as not to be surrounded, receiving on his buckler all the weapons that were hurled at him in
5 front. For although he was single-handed and so many men were attacking him with extreme violence from a distance, yet none dared to come nearer, and more missiles fell in the branches than on his shield.
6 The king was protected in the first place by the widespread fame of his name, and secondly by
7 desperation, a great incentive to die gloriously. But as constantly new enemies came pouring on, by this time he had caught a vast number of weapons on his shield, his helmet was shattered by stones, and already his knees, wearied by protracted toil, had sunk under
8 him. On seeing this, those who stood nearest rushed upon him incautiously and in contempt of the danger; two of these he ran through with his sword and laid them dead at his feet. After that no one had the courage to go nearer him, but they assailed him with
9 javelins and arrows from afar. But although a mark for every shot, yet on his knees he had no difficulty in defending himself, until an Indian discharged an arrow two cubits long—for, as I have said,[b] the Indi had arrows of that length—with so good an aim that it passed through his cuirass and was fixed in his body
10 a little above his right side. On suffering this wound, from which a great jet of blood gushed forth, he let his arm drop as if dying, not even having the strength to draw out the weapon with his right hand. On seeing this, the man who had wounded him ran for-

11 verat alacer gaudio accurrit. Quem ut inicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus, linquentem revocavit animum et nudum hostis latus subrecto[1] mucrone hausit.

12 Iacebant circa regem tria corpora, procul stupentibus ceteris. Ille ut, antequam ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans tamen[2] exstingueretur, clipeo se
13 allevare conatus est et, postquam ad conitendum nihil supererat virium, dextera impendentes ramos complexus temptabat assurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis, rursus in genua procumbit, manu
14 provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet. Tandem Peucestes, per aliam oppidi partem deturbatis propugnatoribus muri, vestigia persequens regis super-
15 venit. Quo conspecto, Alexander iam non vitae spem,[3] sed mortis solacium supervenisse ratus, clipeo fatigatum corpus excepit. Subinde[4] Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit.
16 Indi quoque, cum intra moenia regem esse comperissent, omissis ceteris, illuc concurrerunt urgebantque protegentes eum. E quibus[5] Timaeus, multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis, egregia-
17 que edita pugna cecidit ; Peucestes quoque, tribus iaculis confossus, non se tamen scuto sed regem

[1] subrecto *Acidalius;* subiecto *A.*
[2] tamen *Vogel;* iam *A.* [3] spem *Bentley;* suae *A.*
[4] subinde *P;* subit inde *C.*
[5] E quibus *Kinch;* cum quibus *P;* ex quibus *C.*

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[a] According to Arrian, Peucestes was with him from the first ; see ix. 4. 32, note.

[b] *vestigia* is used generally not literally; Peucestes followed along the wall until he came to him ; Heinse read *muri vestigia.* But see note *a.*

[c] *Cf.* Arr. vi. 28. 4. Abreas, whom Arrian (vi. 9. 3) names among those who came to the king's help, is not else-

11 ward with eager joy to strip his body. No sooner did the king feel him lay hand on his person, than aroused, I suppose, by the disgrace of this supreme indignity, he recalled his failing spirits, and plunged his sword upward into his enemy's naked side.

12 Three bodies lay dead around the king, while the rest of his assailants stood in stupefaction afar off. He tried to lift himself with his shield, that he might at any rate die fighting before his last breath failed
13 him, but finding that not enough strength remained for that effort, he laid hold of the overhanging branches with his right hand and tried to rise. But not even then being able to control his body, he again fell upon his knees, waving his hand as a challenge to the enemy to meet him in single combat, if any-
14 one dared. At last Peucestes, having dislodged the defenders of the wall in another part of the town, followed [a] in the king's footsteps [b] and came
15 to him. Alexander, on seeing him, thinking that not hope of life but consolation in death had arrived, allowed his wearied body to fall on his shield. Then Timaeus appeared, and a little later
16 Leonnatus, and after him Aristonus.[c] The Indi also, having learned that Alexander was within the walls, left the others, ran to the spot, and assailed those who were protecting him. Of these Timaeus,[d] after receiving many wounds in front and fighting a
17 glorious battle, fell. Peucestes also, though pierced by three javelins, nevertheless with his shield was

where mentioned. Arrian (vi. 11. 7) says that there was difference of opinion about Leonnatus and Abreas; so also in the details of the king's battle with his foes.

[d] Apparently identical with Limnaeus, Plut. *Alex.* lxiii. 4, note.

tuebatur; Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros submovet, cervice graviter icta, semianimis procubuit
18 ante regis pedes. Iam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus submiserat clipeum; in Aristono spes ultima haerebat. Hic quoque graviter saucius tantam vim hostium ultra sustinere non poterat.
19 Inter haec ad Macedonas regem cecidisse fama perlata est. Terruisset alios quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis[1] immemores dolabris perfregere murum et qua moliti erant aditum irrupere in urbem Indosque plures fugientes quam congredi
20 ausos ceciderunt. Non senibus, non feminis, non infantibus parcitur; quisquis occurrerat, ab illo vulneratum regem esse credebant. Tandemque internecione hostium iustae irae parentatum est.
21 Ptolomaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae adfuisse auctor est Clitarchus et Timagenes, sed ipse, scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus, afuisse se, missum in expeditionem, memoriae tradidit. Tanta componentium vetusta[2] rerum monimenta vel securitas vel, par huic vitium, credulitas fuit.
22 Rege in tabernaculum relato, medici lignum sagittae corpori infixae,[3] ita ne spiculum moveretur,
23 abscidunt. Corpore deinde nudato, animadvertunt hamos inesse telo nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse quam ut secando[4] vulnus augerent.

[1] omnis *Modius;* omnes *A.*
[2] vetusta *Giunta;* uetustate *A.*
[3] infixae *Vogel;* infixum *A.*
[4] secando *J. Froben;* secundo *A.*

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[a] He was not killed; see ix. 10. 6.
[b] On *parentatum est* see v. 6. 1.
[c] *i.e.* of Egypt; see x. 10. 1.
[d] In his *Memoirs*; see L.C.L. *Arrian*, Prefatory Note, p. xi.

protecting not himself but the king; Leonnatus, while he was vigorously repulsing the eagerly charging barbarians, was severely wounded in the neck and fell
18 half-dead [a] at the king's feet. Now Peucestes also, exhausted by his wounds, had lowered his shield; the last hope remained in Aristonus. He too was badly wounded and could no longer hold out against so great a number of foemen.
19 Meanwhile news was brought to the Macedonians that the king had been killed. What would have terrified other men animated them. For regardless of all danger, they broke through the wall with mattocks, and when they had made a breach, rushed into the city and cut down the Indi, more of whom fled
20 than dared to engage them. They spared neither old men, women, nor children; whoever met them they believed to be the person by whom the king had been wounded. And at length by the slaughter of the enemy they appeased [b] their just anger.
21 Clitarchus and Timagenes are our authorities for the statement that Ptolemy, who was later king,[c] was present at this battle, but he himself, who certainly was not inclined to depreciate his own glory, has written [d] that he was not there, since he had been sent on an expedition. Such was the carelessness of those who composed the old records, or their credulity,[e] which is an equally great fault.
22 Alexander was carried to his tent and the physicians cut off the shaft of the arrow, which was firmly fixed in his body, taking care not to stir the point.
23 Then, when his clothing had been removed, they perceived that the arrow was barbed, and that it could not be extracted without injury unless the wound

[e] See ix. 1. 34.

24 Ceterum, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet
verebantur; quippe ingens telum adactum erat et
25 penetrasse in viscera videbatur. Critobulus, inter
medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus,
manus[1] admovere metuebat, ne in ipsius caput parum
26 prosperae curationis recideret[2] eventus. Lacrimantem eum ac metu[3] et sollicitudine propemodum
exsanguem rex conspexerat: "Quid," inquit, "quodve tempus exspectas et non quam primum hoc
dolore me saltem moriturum liberas? An times ne
27 reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?" At
Critobulus, tandem vel finito vel dissimulato metu,
hortari eum coepit ut se continendum praeberet, dum
spiculum evelleret; etiam levem corporis motum
28 noxium fore. Rex cum affirmasset nihil opus esse
eis qui semet continerent, sicut praeceptum erat,
sine motu praebuit corpus.

Igitur, patefacto latius vulnere, et spiculo evolso,
ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit linquique animo
rex et, caligine oculis offusa, velut moribundus ex-
29 tendi. Cumque profluvium medicamentis frustra
inhiberent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum
oritur regem exspirasse credentium. Tandem con-
stitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit et circum-
30 stantes coepit agnoscere. Toto eo die ac nocte quae
secuta est armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus

[1] manus *added by J. Froben.*
[2] recideret *I;* reccident *A.*
[3] metu *Bentley;* metuentem *A.*

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[a] See Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 37. 37 (124), but Arrian (vi. 11. 1) gives the same as Critodemus.

[b] *linqui* is of course not dependent on *coepit*, as *manare*

24 was enlarged by the knife. But they feared that the flow of blood could not be staunched by those who performed the operation; for the arrow was very long and seemed to have penetrated the vital parts.
25 Critobulus,[a] who was a physician of distinguished skill, but was terrified in the face of such great risk, dreaded to put his hand to the work, lest the result of the treatment, if unsuccessful, might recoil upon
26 his own head. The king observed that he was weeping and near to fainting from fear and anxiety and said: "For what and for how long are you waiting, and why do you not free me as soon as possible from this pain and let me at least die? Do you perhaps fear that you may be blamed because I have received an incur-
27 able wound?" But Critobulus, having at last ended his fear, or concealed it, began to urge that he let himself be held while he was withdrawing the point; that even a slight movement of his body would be
28 dangerous. When the king had assured him that there was no need of any to hold him, he kept his body motionless, as had been ordered.

So when the wound had been laid open and the barb extracted, a copious amount of blood began to flow, the king swooned,[b] darkness veiled his eyes,
29 and he lay stretched out as if he were dead. And while they were vainly trying to staunch the flow of blood by applications, his friends began to cry out and to weep, believing that he had breathed his last. At last the blood ceased to flow, and the king gradually recovered his senses and began to recognize those
30 who stood around him. All that day and the following night the army stood under arms before the royal

is, but is the infinitive of vivid narration, the so-called "historical infinitive."

omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec prius recesserunt, quam compertum est somno paulisper acquiescere. Hinc certiorem spem salutis eius in castra rettulerunt.

VI. Rex, VII diebus curato vulnere, necdum obducta cicatrice, cum audisset convaluisse apud barbaros famam mortis suae, duobus navigiis iunctis, statui in medium undique conspicuum tabernaculum iussit, ex quo se ostenderet perisse credentibus, conspectusque ab incolis spem hostium falso nuntio
2 conceptam inhibuit. Secundo deinde amne defluxit aliquantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies perinvalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur.
3 Quarto postquam navigare coeperat die pervenit in regionem desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus et
4 ad suam et ad militum requiem. Mos erat principibus amicorum et custodibus corporis excubare ante praetorium quotiens adversa regi valetudo incidisset; hoc tum quoque more servato, universi cubiculum
5 eius intrant. Ille sollicitus ne quid novi afferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur num hostium recens
6 nuntiaretur adventus. At Craterus, cui mandatum erat ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum : " Cre-

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 6. 10. [b] The Hyraotis, the modern Ravi.

pavilion, confessing that they all lived by his breath alone,[a] and they did not leave until they learned that he was quietly sleeping for a time. Then they returned to the camp with more assured hope of his recovery.

VI. The king, after his wound had been treated for seven days but had not yet cicatrized, hearing that the report of his death had gained strength among the barbarians, ordered two ships to be lashed together, and his tent to be set up in the centre, where it would be conspicuous to everyone, in order that from it he might show himself to those who believed that he was dead, and, being seen by the inhabitants, he put an end to the enemies hope which they had conceived from the false report.
2 Then he went on down the river,[b] keeping some distance ahead of the rest of the fleet, in order that the quiet which he still needed in his very weak condition might not be interfered with by the beat of the oars.
3 On the fourth day after he had begun his voyage he came into a region which was indeed deserted by all its inhabitants, but abounded in grain and cattle. The place suited him for resting both himself and his
4 soldiers. It was the custom for the principal men among the king's friends and for his body-guard to keep watch before his tent whenever he had fallen ill; since this custom was being observed at that
5 time as usual, they all entered his chamber. Alexander, anxious lest they brought some serious news, because they had all come at once, asked whether a fresh approach of the enemy was being reported.
6 But Craterus, who had been intrusted to convey to him the prayers of his friends, replied: "Do you

disne," inquit, " adventu magis hostium, ut iam in vallo consisterent, sollicitos esse quam cura salutis
7 tuae, ut nunc est, tibi vilis ? Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, impleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, invisitatas
8 beluas inducat, tu nos praestabis invictos. Sed quis deorum hoc Macedoniae columen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cum tam avide manifestis periculis offeras corpus, oblitus tot civium animas trahere
9 te in casum ? Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse aut potest ? Eo pervenimus auspicium atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est.

10 " Quodsi adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dareo dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset tam promptae esse te ad omne discrimen audaciae ; nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est et ad-
11 versis solacium maius. Tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi quis ferat, non tuorum modo militum, sed ullius gentis barbarae civis qui tuam magnitudinem
12 novit ? Horret animus cogitationem rei, quam paulo ante vidimus. Eloqui timeo invicti corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas,[1] nisi te interceptum misericors in nos Fortuna servasset.

" Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus,
13 quot te non potuimus persequi. Universos licet

[1] infecturas *Zumpt;* iniecturas *A*.

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[a] *Cf.* Hor. *Odes* ii. 17. 4 ; i. 12. 46 f.

[b] Minimized for rhetorical effect. It was not the capital of the Malli, but was far from being *ignobilis vicus*.

imagine that we are more disturbed by the coming of the enemy, although they even now stood within our rampart, than through care for your safety, on
7 which you seem to set little store? However great a force of all nations should unite against us, should fill the whole world with arms and men, should cover the sea with their fleets, should bring against us beasts never seen before, it is you that will make us
8 invincible. But who among the gods can promise that this prop and star [a] of Macedonia will be lasting, when you so eagerly expose your person to evident dangers, forgetting that you draw into disaster the
9 lives of so many citizens? For who desires to be, or can be, your survivor? Following your auspices and command, we have come to a place from which none of us can find a way to his hearth and home except under your lead.

10 "But if you were still contending with Darius for the dominion of Persia, although no one could wish it, yet one could not even wonder that you are of such ready daring in the face of every danger; for when the peril and its reward are equal, the gain is not only more ample in case of success, but the solace is greater in
11 case of defeat. But that an obscure village [b] should be bought at the price of your life who could endure, not to mention your own soldiers, but even the citizen of any barbarous nation who knows your greatness?
12 My soul shudders at the thought of the scene which we witnessed a short time ago. I fear to mention that the most worthless of hands would have polluted the spoils stripped from your invincible body, had not Fortune been compassionate and saved you for us.

"We are so many traitors, so many deserters, all of
13 us who were not able to keep up with you. Although

milites ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id quod
14 ne admitteret praestare non potuit. Patere nos, quaeso, alio modo esse viles tibi. Quocumque iusseris, ibimus. Obscura pericula et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposcimus ; temet ipsum ad ea serva, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt. Cito gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus, nec quicquam indignius est quam
15 consumi eam ubi non possit ostendi." Eadem fere Ptolomaeus et similia his ceteri. Iamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant ut tandem ex satietate[1] laudi modum faceret ac saluti suae, id est publicae, parceret.

16 Grata erat regi pietas amicorum ; itaque singulos familiarius amplexus, considere iubet, altiusque ser-
17 mone repetito : " Vobis quidem," inquit, " o fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, grates ago habeoque, non solum eo[2] nomine quod hodie salutem meam vestrae praeponitis, sed quod a primordiis belli nullum erga me benivolentiae pignus atque indicium omisistis, adeo ut confitendum sit numquam mihi vitam meam fuisse tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut
18 vobis diu frui possim. Ceterum non eadem est cogitatio eorum qui pro me mori optant, et mea, qui pridem[3] hanc benivolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me iudico. Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me,

[1] ex satietate *Bentley;* exacietate *F;* exsatiatae *BVL;* exsaciatae *P.* [2] eo *Francine;* meo *A.*
[3] et mea, qui pridem *Hedicke;* meam et quidem *C;* et quidem meam *P.*

[a] *praestare* is frequent in juristic Latin, in the sense of " guarantee." [b] *Cf.* Sen. *Suas.* i. 3.
[c] Antony's use of *piissimus* is criticized as un-Latin by Cicero, *Philipp.* xiii. 19. 43, but occurs frequently in later Latin.

you should brand your soldiers with ignominy, no one will refuse to pay that penalty for the guilt which
14 he could not avoid [a] incurring. I pray you, allow us to be worthless in your sight in a different way. Whithersoever you bid us we will go. We demand for ourselves the obscure dangers and inglorious battles ; save yourself for those which are worthy of your greatness. Glory gained over mean enemies quickly fades, and nothing is more unworthy than for it to
15 be wasted when it cannot be displayed." Ptolemy spoke too about the same purport, and the rest used similar language. And now with mingled tears and cries all besought him that at last from satiety he should set a limit [b] to the pursuit of glory and have regard for his safety, that is, the safety of the state.

16 The affection of his friends was gratifying to the king ; accordingly, having embraced them one after the other with unusual tenderness, he bade them be seated and, seeking words of deeper feeling,
17 said : "To you indeed, most faithful and most loyal [c] of my fellow citizens and friends, I feel and express gratitude, not only for the reason that today you value my safety more than your own, but also because from the outset of this war there is no pledge and proof of your affection for me which you have omitted, so much so that I must confess that my life has never been so dear to me as it has begun to be now that I can enjoy your com-
18 panionship for a long time. But the thought of those who wish to die for me is not the same as my own, since I think that I have long since won this goodwill of yours through deeds of valour. For you would wish to enjoy me for a long time, and perhaps

forsitan etiam perpetuum percipere cupiatis ; ego
19 me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae. Licuit paternis opibus contento, intra Macedoniae terminos per otium corporis exspectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem. Quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt, sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam existimantes saepe acerba mors occupat. Verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera Fortunae bene computo, diu vixi.

20 " Orsus a Macedonia imperium Graeciae teneo, Thraciam et Illyrios subegi, Triballis Maedisque imperito, Asiam, qua Hellesponto, qua Rubro mari subluitur, possideo. Iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam Naturam, alium orbem
21 aperire mihi statui. Ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi. Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vicesimum atque octavum annum vitae,[1] videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare ? Ego vero non deero et, ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro ter-
22 rarum orbis esse me credam. Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis, aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas Natura longe submoverat.

" In his operibus exstingui mihi, si fors ita feret, pulchrum est ; ea stirpe sum genitus, ut multam[2]
23 prius quam longam vitam debeam optare. Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras quibus feminae ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. Quas urbes

[1] vitae *added by Jeep.* [2] multam *J. Froben;* multa *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* Livy v. 7. 3.

[b] It was really the tenth year of his reign and the thirtieth of his age.

forever, whereas I measure myself by the extent of
19 my glory rather than that of my life. I might, content with the kingdom of my sire, within the limits of Macedonia amid idleness have awaited an obscure and inglorious old age. And yet even the indolent cannot control their destiny, but a premature death often surprises those who consider length of days the only blessing. But I, who count not my years but my victories, if I keep a correct account of Fortune's favours, have already had a long life.

20 "Beginning my reign in Macedonia, I hold dominion over Greece, I have subdued Thrace and the Illyrians, I rule the Triballi and the Maedi, I possess Asia from where it is washed by the Hellespont to the shores of the Red Sea. And now I am not far from the end of the world, and passing beyond this, I have resolved to open to myself a new realm of Nature, a new
21 world. From Asia I crossed into the bounds of Europe in a single hour.[a] Having conquered both continents in the ninth year of my reign and the twenty-eighth of my life,[b] does it seem to you that I can pause in the task of completing my glory, to which alone I have devoted myself? I at least shall not be found wanting, and wherever I shall fight, I shall believe that I am in the theatre of the whole
22 world. I will give fame to unknown places. I will open to all nations lands which Nature had moved to a distance.

"To end my life amid these enterprises, if chance shall so will it, is in my opinion glorious; I am born from such stock that I am bound to desire an
23 abundant life rather than a long one. I pray you, think that you have come to lands in which the name of a woman is renowned because of her valour. What

Samiramis condidit! quas gentis redegit in potestatem! quanta opera molita est! Nondum feminam aequavimus gloria, et iam nos laudis satietas cepit?
24 Di faveant, maiora adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra erunt quae nondum adiimus,[1] si nihil parvum duxerimus in quo magnae gloriae locus est. Vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestate securum; belli Martisque discrimen impavidus subibo.
25 "Philippus in acie tutior quam in theatro fuit; hostium manus saepe evitavit,[2] suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab hoste interemptos
26 numerabitis. Ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur quan-
27 doque excesserit vita. Hoc, si licuerit, ipse praestabo; hoc, si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse me[3] mementote." Ac tum quidem amicos dimisit. Ceterum per complures dies ibi stativa habuit.

VII. Haec dum in India geruntur, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti circa Bactra, orta inter ipsos seditione, defecerant non tam Alexandro
2 infensi quam metu supplicii. Quippe, occisis quibusdam popularium, qui validiores erant arma spectare

[1] adiimus *P;* attigimus *and* atigimus *C.*
[2] evitavit *Hedicke;* uitauit *A.* [3] me *added by Eussner.*

[a] The exploits of Samiramis are given in Diod. ii. 4 ff., especially ii. 16 ff.
[b] Where he was assassinated by Pausanias; see Diod. xvi. 94. 1-3.

cities did Samiramis build! What nations did she reduce to submission! What great works did she accomplish![a] We have not yet equalled a woman in glory, and has a satiety of renown already seized us? Let the gods favour us, and still greater things
24 await us. But those which we have not yet undertaken will be ours only if we consider nothing small in which there is room for great glory. Do you only keep me safe from intestine treachery and domestic plots; I will meet unterrified the hazard of war and of Mars.
25 "Philip was safer on the field of battle than in the theatre.[b] He often evaded the hands of the enemy, but he could not escape those of his own countrymen. If you think also of the deaths of other kings, you will count more that were slain by their own
26 people than by the foe. But since an opportunity has now been offered of setting forth a matter which I have long agitated in my thoughts, let me say that I shall receive the greatest reward for my labours and my toils if my mother Olympias shall be consecrated to immortality when she departs from life.
27 This, if it shall be allowed me, I myself will effect; if Fate shall anticipate me, remember that I have entrusted this duty to you." And then indeed he dismissed his friends. But for many days he remained there in the same camp.

VII. While this was going on in India, the Greek soldiers who had lately been established by the king in colonies round about Bactra, since disagreement had arisen among them, had revolted, not so much through hostility to Alexander, as from fear of punish-
2 ment. For the stronger faction, having killed some of their countrymen, began to think of armed action,

coeperunt et Bactriana arce, quae quasi tuta[1] neglegentius asservata erat, occupata, barbaros quoque
3 in societatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen assumpserat, non tam imperii cupidine quam in patriam revertendi cum eis,[2] qui auctoritatem ipsius seque-
4 bantur. Huic Biton[3] quidam nationis eiusdem, sed ob aemulationem infestus, comparavit insidias invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quendam Bactria-
5 num[4] in convivio occidit. Postero die contione advocata, Biton ultro insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat; sed aliis suspecta erat fraus Bitonis, et paulatim in plures coepit manare suspicio.
6 Itaque Graeci milites arma capiunt, occisuri Bitonem si daretur occasio; ceterum[5] principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt.
7 Praeter spem suam Biton, praesenti periculo ereptus, paulo post est insidiatus auctoribus salutis suae. Cuius dolo cognito, et ipsum comprehenderunt et
8 Boxum. Ceterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Bitonem etiam per cruciatum necari. Iamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cum Graeci—incertum, ob quam causam—lymphatis similes ad arma discurrunt.
9 Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Bitonem iussi erant omisere, veriti ne id facere tumultuantium
10 vociferatione prohiberentur. Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Graecos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimit-

[1] tuta *added by Hedicke.* [2] cum iis *Aldus;* cunctis *A.*
[3] Biton *Hedicke;* bicon *A* (*similarly below*).
[4] Bactrianum *Bentley;* macerianum *A.*
[5] ceterum *Acidalius;* ceteri *A.*

[a] *sicut nudatus*: *cf.* iv. 14. 9; viii. 3. 10.

and after having seized the citadel of Bactra, which through belief in its safety had been carelessly guarded, they had forced the barbarians also to join
3 in their revolt. Their chief was Athenodorus, who had even assumed the title of king, not so much from a desire for power, as for returning to his fatherland along with those who acknowledged his authority.
4 Against him a certain Biton of the same nation, but hostile to Athenodorus because of rivalry, laid a plot, and having invited him to a banquet, had him assassinated at table by a Bactrian called Boxus.
5 On the following day Biton called an assembly and convinced the majority that Athenodorus without provocation had plotted to take his life; but others suspected imposture on the part of Biton and the
6 suspicion gradually began to spread to more. Accordingly, the Greek soldiers armed themselves, intending to kill Biton if an opportunity offered; but their leading men appeased the wrath of the multitude.
7 Biton, rescued from imminent danger contrary to his expectation, a little later plotted against those who had saved him. But when his treachery became
8 known, they seized both him and Boxus. The latter they ordered to be put to death at once and Biton also, but after suffering torture. And they were already applying the instruments of torture to his body, when the Greeks—for what reason is uncertain
9 —as if crazed, rushed to arms. When their tumult was heard, those who had been ordered to torture Biton, left him, for fear that they would be prevented from carrying out their orders by the cries of the
10 rioting soldiers. He, stripped naked as he was,[a] came to the Greeks, and the pitiable aspect of the man who had been condemned to death suddenly changed their

11 tique eum iusserunt. Hoc modo poena bis liberatus, cum ceteris qui colonias a rege attributas reliquerunt revertit in patriam. Haec circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta.

12 Interim regem duarum gentium de quibus ante dictum est [c] legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur eximia magnitudine corporum, decoro habitu; lineae
13 vestes intexto auro purpuraque distinctae. Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes agrosque referebant, per tot aetates inviolatam libertatem illius primum fidei dicionique permissuros; deos sibi deditionis auctores, non metum; quippe intactis viribus iugum excipere.
14 Rex, consilio habito, deditos in fidem accepit stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, imposito; praeterea II milia et D equites imperat.
15 Et omnia oboedienter a barbaris facta. Invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium regulisque, exornari convivium iussit. C aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant, lectis circumdederat aulaea purpura auroque fulgentia, quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu aut apud Macedonas nova inmutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiis, in illo convivio ostendens.

16 Intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil no-

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[a] This shows some uncertainty on Curtius' part of the geography of Bactra.
[b] Malli and Sudracae; see Arr. vi. 14. 1.
[c] Really, cotton. [d] Arr. vi. 14. 2.
[e] This is not consistent with *inviolatam libertatem*, above.

feelings to pity, and they gave orders to let him go.
11 Twice freed from punishment in this way, he returned to his native land with the rest who had left the colonies established by Alexander. This is what happened in the region of Bactra and the frontiers of Scythia.[a]
12 In the meantime a hundred envoys came to the king from the two nations of which mention has been made.[b] All rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and dignified bearing; their robes were of linen,[c] embroidered with inwrought gold and
13 purple. They said that they surrendered to him themselves, their cities, and their lands, and would entrust[d] for the first time the liberty which they had preserved inviolate for so many ages to his protection and authority; that it was the gods that advised their submission to him, not fear, since they assumed the yoke while their strength was unim-
14 paired. The king, after holding a council, admitted the surrendered peoples into his protection, imposing upon them the tribute which both nations were paying to the Arachosii[e]; besides, he ordered them to furnish 2500 horsemen. All these commands
15 were faithfully carried out by the barbarians. Then he invited the envoys and the petty kings of the nations to a banquet, and ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared. A hundred golden couches had been placed at a small distance from each other; the couches he had hung about with purple tapestries gleaming with gold, displaying in that banquet all that was corrupt in the ancient luxury of the Persians or in the new fashions adopted by the Macedonians, thus intermingling the vices of both nations.
16 There was present at the feast Dioxippus, an

bilis et ob eximiam virtutem virium iam et regi[1] pernotus et gratus. Invidi malignique increpabant per seria et ludum saginati corporis sequi inutilem beluam; cum ipsi proelium inirent, oleo madentem
17 praeparare ventrem epulis. Eadem igitur in convivio Corratas[2] Macedo iam temulentus exprobrare ei coepit et postulare, ut, si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret; regem tandem vel de sua
18 temeritate vel de illius ignavia iudicaturum. Et a Dioxippo contemptim militarem eludente[3] ferociam, accepta condicio est. Ac postero die rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposcerent, quia deterrere non
19 poterat, destinata exsequi passus est. Ingens vis[4] militum, inter quos erant Graeci, Dioxippo studebant. Macedo iusta arma sumpserat, aereum clipeum hastamque[5]—sarisam vocant—laeva tenens, dextera lanceam gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul
20 dimicaturus; Dioxippus oleo nitens et coronatus, laeva puniceum amiculum, dextra validum nodosumque stipitem praeferebat. Ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat; quippe armato congredi nudum dementia, non temeritas videbatur.
21 Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminus interfici posse, lanceam emisit. Quam Dioxippus cum exigua cor-

[1] et regi *Stangl;* a rege *A.*
[2] Corratas *Hedicke;* horrotas *A.*
[3] eludente *Aldus;* eludentem *A.* [4] vis *Jeep;* hic *A.*
[5] hastamque *Gertz;* hastam quam *A.*

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[a] *virtutem virium* is an uncommon expression, but is justified by the etymological meaning of *virtus*, and makes an effective alliteration.
[b] *Cf.* iii. 1. 17; vii. 4. 14.

Athenian, a celebrated boxer, and because of the extraordinary greatness [a] of his strength already both well known to the king and a favourite of his. Some through jealousy and malice carped at him with mingled seriousness and jest, saying that they had as a companion a useless brute with an over-fed body; that while they entered battle, he, dripping
17 with oil, was preparing his belly for feasts. Thus it was that at the banquet Corratas, a Macedonian, already overcome by wine, began to upbraid Dioxippus, and to demand that, if he were a man, he should fight with him on the following day with swords; that the king at last would have an opportunity to judge of Corratas' rashness or the other's
18 cowardice. And the challenge was accepted by Dioxippus, who contemptuously made sport of the soldier's bravado. And on the next day the king, since they even more earnestly demanded the contest, and he was unable to dissuade them, allowed
19 what they desired to be carried out. A great number of soldiers, including the Greeks, favoured Dioxippus. The Macedonian had assumed his usual arms, holding in his left hand a bronze shield and a spear—they call it *sarisa*—in his right a lance, and girt with a sword, as if he were going to fight with
20 several men at once; Dioxippus, gleaming with oil and wearing a garland, displayed a purple cloth in his left hand, and in his right a stout knotted club. This very thing had filled the minds of all with eager anticipation [b]; since for a naked man to fight with one in full armour seemed not only rashness, but madness.

21 Then the Macedonian, not doubting that his foe could be killed at long range, hurled his lance. Diox-

poris declinatione vitasset, antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, assiluit et stipite mediam
22 eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo, Macedo gladium coeperat stringere, cum[1] occupatum, complexu pedibus repente subductis, Dioxippus arietavit in terram, ereptoque gladio, pedem super cervicem iacenti imposuit stipitem intentans elisurusque eo victum, ni prohibitus esset a rege.
23 Tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modo, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maxime quia barbari adfuerant; quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitu-
24 dinem ad ludibrium recidisse querebatur.[2] Hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertae sunt regis aures. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum ex composito subducitur, ministrique, quasi amisissent
25 quod amoverant, regem adeunt. Saepe minus est constantiae in rubore, quam in culpa; coniectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit et, cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quae regi redderentur, ferro se interemit.
26 Graviter mortem eius tulit rex, existimans[a] indignationis esse, non paenitentiae testem, utique postquam falso insimulatum eum nimium invidorum gaudium ostendit.

VIII. Indorum legati dimissi domos paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. ccc erant equites,

[1] cum *Bentley;* quam *A.*
[2] querebatur *Meiser;* uerebatur *A.*

[a] Diod. xvii. 101. 3 attributes this to friends of the king.

ippus avoided it by a slight movement of his body, and before the other could transfer his spear to his right hand, leaped upon him and broke the spear in
22 two with his club. Having lost both his missiles, the Macedonian had begun to draw his sword, when Dioxippus seized him in his arms, suddenly knocked his feet from under him, and butted him to the ground; then snatching his sword from him, he set his foot upon the Macedonian's neck as he lay prostrate, and poising his club to strike him, would have crushed his defeated adversary with it, had he not been prevented by the king.

23 The result of this spectacle was displeasing, not only to the Macedonians, but to the king, especially because the barbarians had witnessed it; for he regretted that the famous valour of the Macedonians was
24 exposed to ridicule. For this reason the ears of the king were opened to the calumnies of jealous rivals. And a few days later at a feast a golden cup was purposely abstracted,[a] and the attendants went to the king, pretending to have lost what they had
25 actually hidden. Often there is less firmness in innocent embarrassment than in genuine guilt. Dioxippus could not endure the gaze of all eyes by which he was marked as a thief, and leaving the banquet, he wrote a letter to be delivered to the king, and
26 killed himself with his sword. The king was greatly grieved by his death, believing it to be a sign of indignation rather than of repentance, especially after the excessive joy of his rivals showed that he had been falsely accused.

VIII. After the envoys of the Indians had been sent home, they returned a few days later with gifts. These consisted of 300 horsemen, 1030 chariots, each

MXXX currus, quos quadriiugi equi ducebant, lineae vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica et ferri candidi talenta C leonesque rarae magnitudinis et tigres,
2 utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum, lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles et dorsa testudi-
3 num. Cratero deinde imperat rex haud procul amne per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret; eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, imponit in naves et in fines Mallorum[1] secundo amne devehitur.
4 Inde Sambagras[2] adiit, validam Indiae gentem, quae populi, non regum imperio regebatur. LX milia[3] peditum habebant, equitum VI milia[4]; has copias currus D sequebantur. III duces spectatos virtute
5 bellica elegerant. At qui in agris erant proximis[5] flumini—frequentes autem vicos maxime in ripa habebant—ut videre totum amnem qua prospici poterat navigiis constratum et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi nova facie deorum exercitum et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus
6 nomen, adventare credebant. Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaeque nautarum voces
7 hortantium pavidas aures impleverant. Ergo universi ad eos qui in armis erant currunt, furere clamitantes et cum dis proelium inituros; navigia non

[1] Mallorum *Lauer;* malliorum *A.*
[2] Sambagras *Hedicke;* sebarcas *A.*
[3] LX milia *Freinshem;* VI milia *A.* [4] VI milia] VI *C.*
[5] proximis *Quicherat;* proximi *A.*

[a] *i.e.* cotton.
[b] The exact meaning of *ferrum candidum* is not clear;

drawn by four horses abreast, a quantity of linen [a] cloth, 1000 Indic shields, 100 talents of white iron,[b]
2 lions and tigers of unusual size (both species of animals being broken in and tamed), also some skins
3 of huge lizards, and shells of tortoises. Then the king ordered Craterus to lead on his forces at no great distance from the river down which he was going to sail, but those who were accustomed to attend him he embarked upon ships and sailed downstream to the lands of the Malli.[c]

4 From there he went on to the Sambagrae,[d] a strong race of India, which was governed by the will of the people, not the power of kings. They had 60,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry; these forces were followed by 500 chariots. They had chosen three leaders
5 distinguished for valour in war. But the people in the fields adjoining the river—and they had many villages, especially on its bank—when they saw the whole stream as far as they could see covered [e] with ships, and shining arms of so many soldiers, stunned by the novel sight, believed an army of gods was coming and another Father Liber, a name celebrated
6 among those nations. Hence the shouting of the soldiers, hence the beat of the oars and the confused cries of the rowers, as they encouraged one another,
7 had filled their ears [f] with terror. Therefore they all ran to those who were under arms, crying that they were mad and were about to do battle with gods; that

like *plumbum candidum* and *aes candidum*, it denotes the presence of an alloy, but whether for increasing the beauty or the strength of the iron is uncertain.

[c] Probably modern Multan.

[d] The name is variously given by Arrian and Diodorus.

[e] For *constratum cf.* ix. 6. 7.

[f] *impleverat aures*, an unusual locution; *cf.* iv. 12. 20, note.

posse numerari quae invictos viros veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros.

8 His in fidem acceptis, ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. Nihilo plus animi his fuit quam ceteris fuerat. Itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandream appellari iusserat, fines eorum qui Musicani appellan-
9 tur intravit. Hic de Teriolte satrape, quem Parapanisadis[1] praefecerat, eisdem arguentibus cognovit multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici
10 iussit. Oxyartes,[2] praetor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam iure amoris, amplioris imperii donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in dicionem redactis urbi eorum praesidium imposuit.

11 Inde per silvas ad asperam[3] Indiae gentem perventum est. Porticanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. Hanc Alexander tertio die quam coeperat obsidere, expug-
12 navit. Et Porticanus, cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de condicione deditionis misit ad regem. Sed antequam adirent eum, duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant; per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem. Qua capta, Porticanus cum paucis repugnans occiditur.

13 Diruta igitur arce, et omnibus captivis venundatis,

[1] Parapanisadis *Hedicke;* caracamisadis *A.*
[2] Oxyartes *Aldus;* oxartes *A.*
[3] per silvas ad asperam *Hedicke;* praestos et ipsam *A.*

[a] So called from the name of their king Musicanus (Arr. vi. 15. 5; Diod. xvii. 102. 5); *cf.* viii. 10. 22.
[b] The name is corrupted and uncertain; *cf.* Arr. vi. 15. 3.

the ships were innumerable and carried invincible heroes. And they struck such terror into the army of their countrymen that they sent envoys to surrender the nation.

8 When these had been received in submission, Alexander came next on the fourth day to another nation. These had no more courage than the others had had. Accordingly, after founding a town there, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territories of those who are called the
9 Musicani.[a] Here, because of charges made by the Parapanisàdae, he tried the satrap Terioltes,[b] whom he had made their governor, and since he was convicted of many acts of greed and arrogance, ordered
10 him to be put to death. Oxyartes,[c] ruler of the Bactriani, was not only acquitted, but because of his tie of affection with the king was given the territories of a more extensive rule. Then, having reduced the Musicani to submission, Alexander put a garrison in charge of their capital.

11 From there he came through forests to a rude race of India. Its king was Porticanus, who with a great force of his subjects had shut himself up in a fortified city. This Alexander took by assault on the third
12 day after he had begun to besiege it. And Porticanus, having taken refuge in the citadel, sent envoys to the king to discuss conditions of surrender. But before they reached Alexander two towers had fallen with a mighty crash, and through their ruins the Macedonians burst into the citadel. After this had been taken, Porticanus, who was resisting with a few of his men, was slain.

13 Having therefore razed the citadel, and sold all the

[c] The name appears in varied forms; *cf.* viii. 4. 21.

Sambi regis fines ingressus est, multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis, validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo
14 cepit. Barbaris simile monstri visum est, rudibus militarium operum; quippe in media ferme urbe armati terra exsistebant, nullo suffossi specus ante
15 vestigio facto. LXXX milia[1] Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivos sub
16 corona venisse. Rursus Musicani defecerunt; ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon,[2] qui captum principem gentis, eundemque defectionis auctorem, adduxit ad regem. Quo Alexander in crucem sublato, rursus amnem, in quo classem exspectare se iusserat, repetit.
17 Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum quod in regno imo[3] erat Sambi. Nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium
18 et clauserant portas. Quorum paucitate contempta, rex D Agrianos moenia subire iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum
19 profecto, si fugere eos crederet. Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste, subito terga verterunt; quos barbari effuse sequentes, in alios, inter quos ipse rex erat, incidunt. Renovato ergo proelio, ex III milibus barbarorum DC caesi sunt, M capti, ceteri
20 moenibus urbis inclusi. Sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit; quippe bar-

[1] LXXX milia *Rader;* $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ *P;* DCCC *C.*
[2] Pithon *J. Froben;* phyton *A.*
[3] regno imo *Jeep;* regnum *A.*

[a] See Arr. vi. 16. 3. [b] Sindimana; Arr. vi. 16. 4.
[c] For this sense of *specus* see iv. 6. 8.
[d] See Arr. vi. 15. 4; vi. 17. 1-2.

prisoners, Alexander entered the domain of King Sambus,[a] and after receiving many towns in surrender took the strongest city[b] of the nation by a subter-
14 ranean passage. To the barbarians, who were inexperienced in military operations, this seemed like a prodigy; for armed men came up out of the earth almost in the middle of the city, no indication having been given beforehand of the digging of the passage-
15 way.[c] Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region, and many captives sold at auction.
16 Again the Musicani revolted; Pithon[d] was sent to subdue them, captured the principal man of the race, who was also the instigator of the rebellion and brought him to Alexander. The king had him crucified, and returned again to the river, on which he had ordered the fleet to wait for him.
17 Then, three days later, he sailed down the river to a town at the extremity of the realm of Sambus. That king had lately given himself up, but the people of the city rejected his authority and had closed the
18 gates of the town. The king, despising the smallness of their number, ordered 500 of the Agriani to advance to the wall, and by slowly retiring to lure the enemy outside of the town; for they would be sure to follow, if they believed that the Agriani were
19 in flight. The Agriani, as had been ordered, after attacking the enemy, suddenly turned their backs; the barbarians, hotly pursuing them, fell in with other troops, among whom was King Alexander himself. Hence the battle was renewed, and of 3000 barbarians 600 were killed, 1000 captured, and the
20 rest shut within the walls of the city. But the victory was not so happy in its outcome as it appeared to be at first sight; for the barbarians had poisoned their

bari veneno tinxerant gladios. Itaque saucii[1] subinde expirabant, nec causa tam strenuae mortis excogitari poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent.

21 Barbari autem speraverant incautum et temerarium regem excipi posse. Sed[2] forte inter promp-
22 tissimos dimicans intactus evaserat. Praecipue Ptolomaeus, laevo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere affectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine coniunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant;
23 certe pelice eius ortum constabat. Idem corporis custos promptissimusque bellator et pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior; modico civilique cultu, liberalis imprimis adituque facili, nihil ex fastu regiae
24 assumpserat. Ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat; tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam in quam postea ascendit in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur.

25 Quippe non levior illis Ptolomaei fuit cura quam regi.[3] Qui et proelio et sollicitudine fatigatus, cum Ptolomaeo assideret, lectum in quo ipse acquiesceret
26 iussit inferri. In quem ut se recepit, protinus altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus, per quietem

[1] saucii *I;* socii *A.* [2] Sed *Kinch;* et *A.*
[3] regi *Freinshem;* regis *A.*

[a] For *strenuus* in about this sense see iii. 6. 2.
[b] See Pausanias i. 6. 2.
[c] One of the seven officers of the body-guard; see Arr. vi. 28. 4.
[d] He became king of Egypt; see x. 1. 1 and 20.

swords. In consequence the wounded died one after the other, and no cause for so speedy [a] a death could be imagined by the physicians, since even slight wounds were incurable.

21 Now the barbarians had hoped that the incautious and rash king might be one of the victims. But although he fought among the foremost, he was
22 fortunate enough to escape untouched. Ptolemy, who was wounded in the left shoulder, slightly it is true but with greater danger than that caused by the wound, had caused the king special anxiety. He was a blood-relation, and some believed him to be a son of Philip [b]; at any rate it was known for certain that he was the offspring of one of that king's con-
23 cubines. He was also a member of Alexander's body-guard [c] and a most valiant warrior, and even greater and more distinguished in the arts of peace than in those of war; modest and affable in his manner of life, particularly generous and easy of access, he had assumed none of the haughtiness of
24 royal origin. Because of these qualities it could be doubted whether he was dearer to the king or to the people; at all events, it was at that time that he first realized the affection of his countrymen; which was so great that in that time of his peril the Macedonians seemed to have presaged the rank to which he afterwards rose.[d]

25 But indeed their solicitude for Ptolemy was no greater than that of the king. For when Alexander, wearied by fighting and by anxiety, had taken his place beside Ptolemy, he ordered the bed on which
26 he himself slept to be brought in. As soon as he lay down upon it, he immediately fell into a profound sleep. When he awoke, he said that in a dream a

vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset;
27 colorem quoque herbae referebat agniturum, si quis repperisset, affirmans. Inventam deinde—quippe a multis simul erat requisita—vulneri imposuit, protinusque dolore finito, intra breve spatium cicatrix
28 quoque obducta est. Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dediderunt.

Hinc in proximam gentem Patalium[1] perventum est. Rex erat Soeris,[2] qui, urbe deserta, in montes
29 profugerat; itaque Alexander oppido potitur agrosque populatur. Magnae inde praedae actae sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta fru-
30 menti. Ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis, defluxit ad insulam medio ferme alveo enatam.

IX. Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, quia duces socordius asservati profugerant, misit qui conquirerent alios. Nec repertis, pervicit[3] cupido visendi Oceanum adeundique terminos mundi sine regionis peritis flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissi-
2 morum virorum salutem permittere; navigabant ergo omnium per quae ferebantur ignari. Quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes colerent, quam placi-

[1] Patalium *Hedicke;* pataliam *A*.
[2] Soeris *Lassen;* moeris *A* (meris *V*).
[3] pervicit *Bentley;* peruicax *A*.

[a] Diod. xvii. 103. 7 says that the snake told the king where the herb was to be found.

[b] In the delta of the Indus; Strabo xv. 1. 33; Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 23 (71); ii. 73. 75 (184). Perhaps the modern Tatta, but the changes in the low and alluvial country make identifications difficult.

[c] Arrian (vi. 17. 2) says that the king, whom he does not name, came earlier and offered to submit to Alexander; later he fled (vi. 17. 5).

serpent had appeared to him, carrying an herb in its mouth, which it had indicated to be a cure for the
27 poison; and the king declared too that he would recognize the colour of the herb if anyone could find it. Then, when it was found—for it was sought by many at the same time[a]—he placed it upon the wound; and immediately the pain ceased and within a short
28 time the wound was scabbed over. The barbarians, since their first hope had proved vain, surrendered themselves and the city.

From there they came to the next nation, that of the Patalii.[b] Their king was Soeris,[c] who had abandoned his city, and taken refuge in the mountains.
29 Alexander took the town and pillaged the fields. From there great booty was driven off, in the form of flocks and herds, and a great store of grain was found.
30 Then, taking guides acquainted with the river, he sailed down to an island which arose in about the middle of the channel.[d]

IX. Being compelled to stay there for a longer time, because the guides, who had been carelessly guarded, had made their escape, he sent men to look for others. When none were found, the desire of visiting the Ocean and going to the ends of the world prevailed upon him, without guides who knew the region, to entrust his own life and the safety of so
2 many valiant men[e] to an unknown river; and so they sailed on, knowing nothing of the country through which they were being carried. How far off from there the sea was, what nations dwelt there,

[d] The great number of islands makes it impossible to identify this one.

[e] He was attended only by a small part of the army; see Arr. vi. 18. 3.

dum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur ; unum erat temeritatis solacium perpetua felicitas.

3 Iam cccc stadia processerant, cum gubernatores agnoscere ipsos auram maris et haud procul videri
4 sibi Oceanum abesse indicant regi. Laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit : incumberent remis ; adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitum ; iam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine oram[1] terrae ab illis capi ; ne Naturam quidem longius posse procedere ; brevi
5 incognita nisi immortalibus esse visuros. Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. Illi, scrutati[2] omnia tuguria, tandem latentes rep-
6 perere. Qui interrogati quam procul abessent mari, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne fama quidem accepisse ; ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumperet dulcem.

Intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris naturae
7 eius. Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die quo propius spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor animorum. Tertio iam die mixtum flumini subibat mare, leni adhuc aestu confundente
8 dispares undas. Tum aliam insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulo lentius,[3] quia cursus aestu reverberabatur,[4] applicant classem et ad commeatus

[1] oram *Eberhard;* orbem *A*.
[2] scrutati *Vindelinus;* scrutata *A*.
[3] lentius *Acidalius;* lenius *A*.
[4] reverberabatur *B m. sec.;* reuerebrabatur *P m. pr.;* reuerabatur *C* (reuerebatur *B m. pr.*).

how quiet the mouth of the river was, whether it was navigable by ships of war, was divined by uncertain and blind conjecture; the sole consolation for the rash enterprise was the king's perpetual good fortune.
3 Already they had gone on for 400 stadia, when the pilots made known to the king that they felt sea air
4 and that the Ocean was not far distant. He, filled with joy, began to urge the sailors to bend to the oars, saying that the end of their labours, so ardently desired, was at hand; now nothing was wanting to complete their glory, nothing left to oppose their valour, without any decision of Mars, without bloodshed, they were taking the very edge of the world; not even Nature could go farther; soon they would see what
5 was unknown except to the immortals. Nevertheless he sent a few men ashore in a boat, to take some of the peasants who were roving about, from whom he hoped to get more accurate information. They, after searching all the huts, at last found some hidden
6 in them. These, when asked how far away the sea was, answered that they had never even heard of any sea; but that on the third day they could reach bitter water, which spoiled the fresh water.

It was clear that this was a description of the sea by those who were not acquainted with its nature;
7 and so the boatmen rowed on with great eagerness, and each succeeding day, as the fulfilment of their hopes drew nearer, their ardour increased. By the third day sea water mixed with the river met them, as the tide, which was still gentle, mingled the different
8 waters. Then carried to another island, situated in the middle of the river, somewhat more slowly because their speed being retarded by the tide, they brought their fleet to the shore and ran about to

petendos discurrunt, securi casus eius, qui supervenit
9 ignaris. Tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice
Oceanus exaestuans invehi coepit et retro flumen
urgere. Quod primo coercitum, deinde vehementius
pulsum, maiore impetu adversum agebatur quam
10 torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt. Ignota vulgo
freti natura erat, monstraque et irae deum indicia
cernere videbantur, identidem intumescens mare et
in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum.
11 Iamque levatis navigiis, et tota classe dispersa, qui
expositi erant, undique ad naves trepidi et improviso
12 malo attoniti recurrunt. Sed in tumultu festinatio
quoque tarda est. Hi[1] contis navigia pellebant, hi,
13 dum remos aptari prohibebant, consederant, quidam
enavigare properantes, sed non exspectatis qui simul
esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide
moliebantur, aliae navium inconsulte ruentes omnes
receperant[2]; pariterque et multitudo et paucitas
14 festinantes morabatur. Clamor hinc exspectare,
hinc ire iubentium dissonaeque voces numquam idem
atque unum tendentium non oculorum modo usum,
15 sed etiam aurium abstulerant. Ne in gubernatoribus
quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox
a tumultuantibus poterat nec imperium a territis
incompositisque servari.
16 Ergo collidi inter se naves abstergerique invicem

[1] Hi *Lauer;* II *A.*

[2] non (*before* receperant) *deleted by Hedicke.*

[a] *Cf.* v. 1. 22.

[b] The phenomenon known as a "bore," such as that in the river Severn, or that in the Bay of Fundi.

[c] There is very little rise and fall of tide in the Mediterranean, but the nature of the tides was known to the highly educated.

[d] "Haste makes waste"; "more haste, less speed."

look for supplies, with no thought of the accident
9 which befell them in their ignorance. It was nearly
the third hour, when the Ocean, in its regular change,[a]
began to be carried on a flood-tide into the river,
and pushed it back. The boat, at first checked and
then pushed more violently, was driven upstream with
greater speed than that of rivers[b] running in flood in
10 a precipitous channel. The nature of the sea was
unknown to the common soldiers,[c] who thought that
they were witnessing portents and signs of the anger
of the gods when the sea continually swelled and
overflowed to flood fields that shortly before were dry.
11 Now the ships were lifted and the whole fleet was
scattered, and those who had gone on shore, alarmed
and amazed by the unexpected calamity, ran from
12 every side back to the ships. But in times of con-
fusion even haste is slow.[d] Some were pushing at the
ships with poles, others had taken their seats while
they were prevented from putting their oars in place,
13 some in their haste to sail, without waiting for those
who ought to have been with them, were weakly strug-
gling with crippled and unmanageable ships,[e] other
ships had taken all those who rushed inconsiderately
into them; and equally too great and too small num-
14 bers delayed their haste. Here some were shouting
to wait, there others, to go on, and the contradictory
cries of those who never demanded one and the same
action had prevented the use, not only of the eyes,
15 but also of the ears. And there was no help even in
the pilots, for their voice could not be heard in the
tumult, nor could their orders be carried out by the
frightened and disordered sailors.
16 Hence the ships began to be dashed together, and

[e] From want of sufficient oarsmen.

remi et alii aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt. Crederes non unius exercitus classem vehi, sed duorum
17 navale inisse certamen. Incutiebantur puppibus prorae, premebantur a sequentibus qui antecedentes turbaverant; iurgantium ira perveniebat etiam ad manus.
18 Iamque aestus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat, tumulis dumtaxat eminentibus velut insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepidi, omissis navigiis,
19 enare properant. Dispersa classis partim in praealta aqua stabat qua subsederant valles, partim in vado haerebat, utcumque inaequale terrae fastigium occupaverant undae, cum subito novus et pristino
20 maior terror incutitur. Reciprocari coepit mare magno tractu, aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus, reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia alia praecipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque frag-
21 mentis. Miles nec egredi in terram nec in nave[1] subsistere audebat identidem praesentibus graviora quae sequerentur exspectans. Vix quae perpetiebantur videre ipsos credebant, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare.
22 Nec finis[2] malorum; quippe aestum paulo post mare relaturum quo navigia allevarentur, ignari famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur. Beluae

[1] nave *Scheffer;* naves *A.* [2] finis *Lauer;* fines *A.*

[a] For *magno tractu* cf. *leni tractu*, ix. 9. 25.

the oars to be shorn off in turn, and the crews to foul one another's ships. You would have supposed, not that it was the fleet of one army, but that the fleets of two armies were engaged in a sea-fight.
17 Prows were dashed against sterns, those ships that damaged ships in front of them were in turn injured by ships behind them; from angry words they even came to blows.
18 And now the tide had flooded all the plains about the river except for mounds projecting like small islands, to which many in their trepidation hastened
19 to swim, deserting the ships. The scattered fleet stood, a part in very deep water, where valleys had made low ground, a part were stranded on shoals, wherever the waters had covered land of uneven but rising level; when on a sudden a new cause of terror, greater than the former one, surprised
20 them. The sea began to flow back with great pull,[a] as the waters ran back to their own channel and restored the lands which a little before had been submerged in deep surge. Hence some of the ships, being thus stranded, were thrown upon their prows, others fell upon their sides. The fields were strewn with baggage, arms, and fragments of
21 broken planks and oars. The soldiers dared neither to land nor to stay aboard, since they were awaiting more serious calamities than the present that might follow at any time. They could hardly believe that they actually beheld what they were experiencing, shipwreck on dry land, the sea in the river.
22 And there was no end to their troubles; for since they did not know that the sea would a little later bring back the tide by which their ships would be floated, they foresaw famine and the utmost extremi-

quoque fluctibus destitutae terribiles vagabantur.
23 Iamque nox appetebat, et regem quoque desperatio salutis aegritudine affecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curae obruunt quin tota nocte persederet in speculis equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus exaestuare sensissent, praecederent.
24 Navigia quoque et lacerata refici et eversa fluctibus erigi iubet, paratosque esse et intentos, cum rursus
25 mare terras inundasset. Tota ea nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumpta, celeriter et equites ingenti cursu refugere et secutus est aestus. Qui primo, aquis leni tractu subeuntibus, coepit levare navigia, mox, totis campis inundatis, etiam impulit classem.
26 Plaususque militum nauticorumque[1] insperatam salutem immodico celebrantium gaudio, litoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum redisset subito mare, quo pridie refugisset, quaenam esset eiusdem elementi[2] natura, modo discors, modo imperio tem-
27 porum obnoxia, mirabundi requirebant. Rex cum ex eo quod acciderat coniectaret post solis ortum statum tempus esse, media[3] nocte, ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit evectusque os eius, cccc stadia processit in mare,

[1] que *added by Giunta.*
[2] elementi *B m. sec.;* mentis *A.*
[3] esse, media *J. Froben;* esset media *P;* esse et media *C.*

[a] *Cf.* Arr. vi. 19. 5, Plut. *Alex.* lxvi. 1.

ties. Horrible sea-beasts too, left by the tide, were
23 roaming about. And already night was drawing near, and despair of safety had disturbed even the king himself. However his cares did not so master his indomitable spirit as to keep him from spending the whole night on the watch and sending horsemen ahead to the mouth of the river, in order that when they saw that the tide was rising again, they might
24 outstrip it. He also gave orders that the ships which were damaged should be repaired, that those which had been overturned by the waves should be raised, and that everyone should be prepared and alert
25 when the sea had again flooded the lands. When all that night had been spent in watching and in encouraging the army, at the same time the horsemen came fleeing for safety at top speed, and the tide followed. This at first, as the waters came under them with gentle flow, began to lift the ships, and then, when all the fields were flooded, even set the fleet in motion.

26 Then the hand-claps and cheers of the soldiers and boatmen, hailing with unrestrained joy the unexpected safety, made the shores and banks resound. In wonder they asked one another whence so great a sea had suddenly returned, whither it had fled the day before, what was the nature of this same element which was at one moment at variance with the strict laws of time, and at another so subject to them.
27 The king, since from what had happened he conjectured that the regular time was after sunrise, in the middle of the night, in order to anticipate the tide, with a few ships went down the river and, carried [a] out to its mouth, proceeded 400 stadia into the sea, at last accomplishing the object of his

tandem voti sui compos. Praesidibusque et maris et locorum dis sacrificio facto, ad classem rediit.

X. Hinc adversum flumen subit classis et altero die appulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius incognita natura plerosque decepit temere ingressos aquam. Quippe scabies corpora invasit, et contagium morbi
2 etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. Leonnato deinde praemisso, ut puteos foderet qua terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur— quippe sicca erat regio—, ipse cum copiis subsistit
3 vernum tempus exspectans. Interim et urbes plerasque condidit, et[1] Nearcho atque Onesicrito, nauticae rei peritis, imperavit ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum, progressique quoad tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent; vel eodem amne vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent.
4 Iamque mitigata hieme, et navibus quae inutiles
5 videbantur crematis, terra ducebat exercitum. Nonis castris in regionem Arabiton,[2] inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus concilio habito dedidit se, nec quicquam deditis
6 praeter commeatus imperatum est. Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen; Arabum[3] incolae appellant. Regio

[1] et *added by Kinch.* [2] Arabiton *Bentley;* aboriton *A.* [3] Arabum *Aldus;* barbarum *A.*

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[a] Arrian does not mention this; it may be identical with the λίμνη μεγάλη mentioned by Arrian on the left branch of the Indus (vi. 20. 3). There is evidently a gap in the narrative of Curtius.

[b] According to Aristobulus, in Strabo xv. 1. 17 (see also xv. 2. 3), and Arr. vi. 21. 1-2, it was already towards the end of July.

[c] Nearchus was the commander, Onesicritus the pilot, or steersman. On the former see, *e.g.*, Arr. iii. 6. 5 and 6.

prayers. Then, after sacrificing to the gods presiding over the sea and the region, he returned to the fleet.

X. Next the fleet went up the river, and on the second day was moored near a salt lake,[a] the unknown nature of which deceived those who rashly entered its waters. For a scabby itch attacked their bodies and the contagion of the ailment was com-
2 municated also to others. A remedy was oil. Then Leonnatus was sent ahead, to dig wells along the route by which he seemed likely to lead the army in a march by land—for the region was dry—while Alexander himself with his troops remained where he was,
3 waiting for the springtime.[b] Meanwhile he both founded several cities and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were skilled in navigation,[c] to sail the strongest ships down to the Ocean, and having gone as far as they safely could, to make themselves acquainted with the nature of the sea, saying that when they wished to return to him, they could come up either by that same river or by the Euphrates.
4 And when the winter was nearly over, he burned the ships which seemed useless, and led the army
5 by land.[d] On the ninth day he came into the region of the Arabitae, and from there in the same number of days into that of the Cedrosii. This free people, after having held a council, surrendered themselves, and nothing was demanded of the surrendered
6 except supplies. Next, on the fifth day, he came to a river which the natives call the Arabus.[e] A region

[a] This account is unclear and inexact, but the same faults are found in Diodorus (xvii. 104); *cf.* Arr. vi. 17. 3; 27. 3; 21. 3, etc.

[e] The form of the name is variously given; it has been identified by many with the Purali.

deserta et aquarum inops excipit; quam emensus in Horitas[1] transit. Ibi maiorem exercitus partem Hephaestioni tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolo-
7 maeo Leonnatoque partitus est. Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magnaeque praedae actae sunt; maritimos Ptolomaeus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus, urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem condidit, deductique sunt in eam[2] Arachosii.
8 Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Desertam vastamque regionem late tenent ac ne cum finitimis
9 quidem ullo commercii iure misçentur. Ipsa solitudo natura quoque immitia efferavit ingenia; prominent ungues numquam recisi, comae hirsutae et intonsae
10 sunt. Tuguria conchis et ceteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti, piscibus sole duratis et maiorum quoque beluarum, quas fluctus
11 eiecit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis, Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt, radices palmarum—namque sola
12 ea arbor gignitur—ubique rimantes. Et[3] cum haec quoque alimenta defecerant iumenta caedere aggressi ne equis quidem abstinebant. Et cum deessent quae sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus, propter quae ultima Orientis peragraverant, cremabant incendio.

[1] Horitas *J. Froben;* noritas *A.*
[2] in eam *J. Froben;* inam *A.* [3] Et *Hedicke;* sed *A.*

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[a] So Diod. xvii. 104. 5; *cf.* Arr. vi. 21. 3.
[b] The former Rambacia, Arr. vi. 21. 5.
[c] The Ichthyophagi. [d] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 105. 4.

barren and poor in water met him; having passed through this, he crossed into the land of the Horitae. There he handed over the greater part of the army to Hephaestion and shared the light-armed troops
7 with Ptolemy[a] and Leonnatus. Three armies at the same time were pillaging the Indi, and a great amount of booty was driven off; Ptolemy was burning the maritime regions, the king himself and in another direction Leonnatus, the rest of the country. In this region also he founded a city,[b] and colonized it with Arachosii.

8 From there he came to the Indi who dwell along the sea-coast.[c] They occupy a great extent of country which is barren and desolate, and mingle in no kind of
9 intercourse even with their neighbours. Their very solitude has made quite wild their dispositions, which are savage even by nature; their nails grow long, never having been cut, their hair is shaggy and unshorn.
10 They adorn their huts with shells[d] and other things thrown up by the sea. Clad in the skins of wild beasts, they feed upon fish cured in the sun, and also on the flesh of larger animals cast up by the sea.
11 Therefore, since their supplies were used up,[e] the Macedonians began to suffer at first scarcity, and finally starvation, grubbing everywhere for the roots of palms—for that is the only kind of tree that grows
12 there. And when even this nourishment had failed them, they began to kill their draught animals, not even abstaining from the horses. And when they had nothing to carry their packs, they burned the spoils taken from the enemy, for the sake of which they had traversed the remotest parts of the Orient.

[c] On the march through Cedrosia along the coast of Persia toward the entrance to the Persian Gulf; *cf.* Arr. vi. 24. 4 ff.

13 Famem deinde pestilentia secuta est. Quippe insalubrium ciborum noxii[1] suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi vulgaverant morbos, et nec manere sine clade nec progredi poterant; manentes fames,
14 progressos acrior pestilentia urguebat. Ergo strati erant campi paene pluribus semivivis quam cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi poterant; quippe agmen raptim agebatur, tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum
15 itineris festinando praeciperent. Igitur qui defecerant notos ignotosque ut allevarentur orabant; sed nec iumenta erant quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, imminentisque et ipsis[2] facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergo saepius revocati, ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant, misericordia in formidinem
16 versa. Illi relicti deos testes et sacra communia regisque implorabant opem, cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem desperatione versi, parem suo exitum similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur.

17 Rex dolore simul ac pudore anxius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernen,[3] Parthyaeorum satrapen, misit, qui iuberet camelis cocta cibaria afferri, aliosque finitimarum regionum prae-
18 fectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. Nec cessatum

[1] noxii *Cornelissen;* noui *A.*
[2] ipsis *J. Froben;* ipsius *A.*
[3] ad Phrataphernen] affrapernen *A.*

[a] Alexander is accused by Strabo xv. 2. 5 of an unworthy ambition to outdo Samiramis and Cyrus; so also Arr. vi. 24. 2-3; *cf.* Curtius ix. 6. 23.

13 Then pestilence followed hunger. For the harmful juices of the unwholesome viands, added to the labour of marching and anxiety of mind, had spread diseases, and they could neither remain where they were nor advance without danger of death ; if they remained, famine, if they went on, a deadlier enemy, pesti-
14 lence, assailed them. Hence the plains were strewn with almost more bodies of the dying than of the dead. And not even those who were slightly ill were able to follow ; for the army was led on rapidly, since each man believed that the army was making the more progress towards the hope of safety, the more
15 they cut short their journey by hurrying. Therefore those who had given out besought those whom they knew, and strangers as well, to succour them ; but there were no animals by which they could be taken on, and the soldiers could barely carry their arms and the sight of the evil which threatened themselves was before their eyes. Therefore, though often called back, they could not endure even to look upon their comrades, but pity was overcome by fear.
16 Those others, being left behind, called upon the gods as witnesses, on their common sacred rites, and on the aid of the king, and when they found that they were wearying deaf ears to no purpose, despair turned to madness and they prayed that those to whom they appealed might have a fate like their own and friends and comrades as cruel as themselves.

17 The king, oppressed by grief, and at the same time by shame,[a] because he himself was the cause of such a great disaster, sent messengers to Phrataphernes, satrap of the Parthyaei, to order cooked food to be brought on camels, and informed other governors of
18 neighbouring regions of his necessities. And they

est ab his. Itaque fame dumtaxat vindicatus, exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perducitur. Omnium rerum solo fertili[1] regio est; in qua stativa habuit,
19 ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret. Hic Leonnati litteras accepit, conflixisse ipsum cum VIII milibus peditum et CCCC equitibus Horitarum prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuntius venit Ozinen et Zariaspen, nobilis Persas, defectionem molientes, oppressos a
20 se in vinculis esse. Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtio[2] —namque Menon, praefectus eius, nuper interierat
21 morbo—in Carmaniam ipse processit. Astaspes[3] erat satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, dum in India rex est; quem occurrentem, dissimulata ira, comiter allocutus, dum exploraret quae delata erant, in eodem honore habuit.
22 Cum inde praefecti, sicut imperatum erat, equorum iumentorumque[4] iugalium vim ingentem ex omni quae sub imperio erat regione misissent, quibus deerant
23 impedimenta restituit. Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum quippe haud procul a Perside aberant, non pacata modo, sed etiam opulenta.
24 Igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus Patris Liberi

[1] solo fertili *Acidalius;* sola fertilis *A*.
[2] regioni Sibyrtio *Freinshem;* regionis iburtio *A* (regionis iburcio *V*).
[3] Astaspes *Fuhr;* aspastis *A*.
[4] que *added by Lauer*.

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[a] According to the usual, well-supported, account, the sufferings of the army were undergone in Cedrosia, and ended on their arrival in its capital—Pura, modern Punpoor (?).
[b] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 5. 5.
[c] Diod. xvii. 105. 8 disagrees, but *cf.* Arr. *l.c.*

did not delay. And so the army, saved at least from starvation, was at last led into the country of Cedrosia.[a] That is a land with a soil productive of all fruits; there he encamped for some time, in order
19 to recuperate the suffering soldiers with rest. Here he received a letter from Leonnatus,[b] saying that he had fought with 8000 infantry and 400 cavalry of the Horitae with successful result.[c] From Craterus also came the news that he had defeated Ozines and Zariaspes, Persian nobles who were attempting
20 a revolt, and that they were in fetters. Therefore, having made Sibyrtius[d] governor of that region—for Menon, its prefect, had lately fallen ill and died—
21 he himself advanced into Carmania. The satrap of that nation was Astaspes,[e] who was suspected of having wished to revolt while the king was in India. When Astaspes came to meet him, Alexander dissembled his anger, and, addressing him graciously, kept him in his same rank until he could inquire into what had been reported.

22 Then, when the governors, as had been ordered, had sent a great supply of horses and yoked draught-cattle from all the region which was under their rule, the king restored their equipment[f] to those who
23 lacked it. Their arms also were replaced with equally handsome ones; for they were not far from Persia,
24 which was not only subdued, but also rich. Therefore, as was said before, rivalling not only the glory of

[a] So also Arr. vi. 27. 1.

[b] Otherwise unknown; he is not mentioned by Arrian in vi. 27. 1.

[f] *impedimenta* here means *iumenta*; *cf.* Arr. vi. 27. 6. That meaning is not rare in military language: see *e.g.* Livy xxxviii. 41. 3 *in eo proelio cum et [illegible] pars . . . cecidissent.*

non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam pompam,[1] sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primum institutus sive bacchantium lusus, statuit imitari animo super humanum fastigium elato.
25 Vicos per quos iter erat floribus coronisque sterni iubet, liminibus aedium creterras vino repletas et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi, vehicula deinde constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veste pretiosa.
26 Primi ibant amici et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coronisque; alibi tibicinum[2] cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur; item vehiculis pro copia cuiusque adornatis, comissabundus exercitus, armis quae maxime decora erant circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat creterris aureis eiusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis prae-
27 gravis. Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit, parata[3] praeda, si quid victis saltem adversus comissantes animi fuisset; mille, hercule, viri modo et sobrii VII dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho
28 capere potuerunt. Sed Fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum vertit in gloriam. Et praesens aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est per gentes nondum satis domitas

[1] pompam *Meiser;* famam *A.*
[2] tibicinum *Freinshem;* tubicinum *A.*
[3] parata *J. M. Palmer;* parta *A.*

[a] Reading Meiser's *pompam* for *famam*; for *fama* and *gloria* see viii. 1. 1, note *a.*

[b] Here *amici* refers to the most intimate of his body-guard (see note on ix. 8. 23); *regia cohors*, to the rest of the body-

Father Liber which he had carried off from those nations, but also his procession,[a] whether that was a triumph first invented by that god or the sport of drunken revellers, he decided to imitate it, in a spirit
25 raised above the level of human greatness. To this end, he ordered the villages through which his route lay to be strewn with flowers and garlands, mixing-bowls filled with wine, and other vessels of unusual size to be placed everywhere on the thresholds of the houses, then carriages to be spread, so that each might hold many soldiers, and to be equipped like tents, some with white curtains, and others with costly tapestries.

26 At the head marched the king's friends and the royal troop,[b] wreathed with chaplets made of a variety of flowers ; on one side was heard the music of flute-players, on another the notes of the lyre ; the army also joined the revels in vehicles adorned according to the means of each man and hung around with their most beautiful arms. The king and his companions rode in a chariot loaded down with golden
27 bowls and huge beakers of the same material. In this way the army for seven days marched in a riotous procession, an easy prey if the conquered had had any courage even against revellers ; a single thousand, by Heaven !, provided they were real men and sober, could have captured in the midst of their triumph those who for seven days had been heavy with
28 drunkenness. But Fortune, who assigns renown and value to actions, turned to glory even this disgrace to an army. Both the age of that time, and afterwards posterity, regarded it as wonderful that they marched

guard, probably including the young men referred to in viii. 6. 2 ff.

incessisse temulentos, barbaris quod temeritas erat
29 fiduciam esse credentibus. Hunc apparatum carnifex
sequebatur: quippe satrapes Astaspes, de quo ante
30 dictum est, interfici iussus est; adeo nec luxuriae
quicquam crudelitas nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.

[a] See ix. 10. 21.

drunken through nations not wholly subdued, and that the barbarians took this rash conduct for con-
29 fidence. This splendid exhibition was followed by the executioner; for it was ordered that the satrap Astaspes, of whom mention was made before,[a] should
30 be put to death; so true is it that cruelty is no obstacle whatever to luxury, nor luxury to cruelty.

BOOK X

CONTENTS OF BOOK X

Alexander shows severity towards corrupt governors. Nearchus and Onesicritus return and report what they have learned and heard. The undeserved execution of Orsines, satrap of Parsagada. Revolt of the Odrysae in Thrace (i).

Disturbances in Greece. The governors in Asia are ordered to disband all their foreign troops. Harpalus, whom Alexander had made satrap of Babylon, fearing that he has lost the king's favour because of his offences, embezzles 5000 talents of the royal treasure and escapes to Europe, hoping to lead the Athenians to join him.

Alexander plans to go to Athens, but learns that Harpalus, driven from Athens, has been killed in Crete. Alexander pays the debts of the soldiers, intending to send the older ones home and retain the rest. A mutiny takes place in the camp, which he quells (ii).

Alexander punishes thirteen of the mutineers. He calls an assembly of the foreign soldiers and praises them (iii).

He chooses his body-guard and his attendants from the Persians. As the ringleaders of the revolt are being taken by Persian attendants to execution, one of them remonstrates with the king.

Alexander, in a rage, gives orders to throw them all into the river, bound as they were. The army submits to this and even calls for the punishment of others, if guilty (iv).

The soldiers stand before the king's quarters in their tunics and beg for admission; they are willing to be punished. His anger persists for two days. He then appears, and after mildly censuring their lack of discipline, declares that he is reconciled with them. He offers a splendid sacrifice and invites the leading men of the Persians and the Macedonians

to a banquet. Then all the weaker soldiers are mustered out with pay for past services and a talent each for travelling expenses. He gives orders that all sons begotten from Asiatic wives be left with him. More than 10,000 veterans, led by Craterus, are discharged and sent to Greece. Antipater is directed to give them special honours and privileges. Craterus is made governor of Macedonia, and Antipater is ordered to come to Alexander with reinforcements. Because of discord between Antipater and Olympias the king is suspicious of Antipater as being too important for a prefect. After making changes in the army, Alexander comes to Celonae, a town occupied by the descendants of Boeotians driven from their homes by Xerxes. A quarrel arises between Eumenes and Hephaestion. Alexander comes to Media, celebrated for its fine horses. At Ecbatana he offers sacrifices and celebrates games, and relaxes his mind with banquets. Hephaestion is taken ill and dies. His body is taken to Babylon and given a magnificent funeral. Alexander orders mourning for Hephaestion throughout the empire, and his friends vie with him in honouring Hephaestion ; he is persuaded that Hephaestion is a god and Agathocles, a Samian, falls into great danger by weeping for him as if he were dead. Alexander marches against the Cossaei, a rude and warlike nation ; he subdues them within 40 days. He founds cities and marches to Babylon. Nearchus warns him not to enter the city, but he scorns the prediction of the Chaldeans. He sails on the river Pallacopas to the land of the Arabians. He founds a city, in which he settled the aged and infirm Greeks and others who wished to remain there. In spite of many unfavourable omens, he enters Babylon. He is entertained by Nearchus at a banquet, and when he was about to retire was persuaded by Medius to attend a drinking-bout. After spending the night in drinking he is taken ill and within six days his strength is exhausted. The troops insist on being admitted to see him.

On his death-bed Alexander remained in the same posture until he had saluted every man in the army. He gives his ring to Perdiccas, and directs that his body be taken to Ammon. He dies, saying that he left his kingdom " to the best man." A summary of his good qualities and his defects. His invariable good fortune (v).

Consultation as to his successor, and the various opinions of the Macedonians (vi).

Meleager favours Alexander's brother Arrhidaeus. Pithon names Perdiccas and Leonnatus as regents for an expected son of Roxanê. Arrhidaeus with a guard of footsoldiers breaks into the king's quarters. Perdiccas and Leonnatus with their cavalry decide to leave the city (vii).

Meleager urges Arrhidaeus to kill Perdiccas. Perdiccas takes a position in the plains and afflicts Babylon with hunger. Arrhidaeus, desirous of peace, tries to quiet the disturbance (viii).

Perdiccas, while he is making a lustration of the army in the Macedonian manner, by a stratagem kills Meleager and about 30 other fomenters of discord (ix).

Perdiccas partitions Alexander's empire, giving the main part to Arrhidaeus and himself, the remainder to the leaders of the Macedonian forces. Rumour that Alexander was poisoned. The king's body is embalmed in the manner of the Egyptians and Chaldeans and taken by Ptolemy to Memphis and later to Alexandria (x).

LIBER X

I. Eisdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. v milia peditum cum equitibus
2 M, sed et[1] accusatores eos e provincia cui praefuerant sequebantur. Nec tot facinora quot admiserant compensare poterat caedis perquam gratae regi mini-
3 sterium. Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinuerant, virginesque et principes feminarum, stupra perpessae, corporum ludibria
4 deflebant. Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia
5 eorum ac libido barbaris fecerat. Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pelicem dederat.
6 Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum quae palam obiciebantur atrocitatem, quam memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur, laeti reccidisse iram in irae ministros nec ullam potentiam

[1] sed et *C*; sed *P*.

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[a] Arr. vi. 27. 3 puts this event immediately after the entrance of Alexander into Carmania (see ix. 10. 20); *eisdem diebus* suggests that Curtius took the account of the seven days' procession through Carmania from another source.

[b] See Arr. iii. 26. 3 and on Agathon, iii. 12. 4. Heracon is mentioned nowhere else.

BOOK X

I. At about that same time [a] Cleander and Sitalces,[b] and Heracon with Agathon arrived, who at the king's
2 order had killed Parmenion. 5000 infantry with 1000 horsemen followed them, but also accusers from the provinces of which they had been governors. And the service rendered by the assassination, although very pleasing to the king, could not make amends for the many crimes which they had committed. For not only had they pillaged everything secular, but they had not even withheld their hands from sacred objects, and maidens and women of high station who had suffered violation were weeping for
4 the insult to their persons. Their greed and lust had made the name of the Macedonians hateful to the
5 barbarians. Among them all, however, the mad passion [c] of Cleander was preëminent, who after having assaulted a maiden of high birth had given her to one of his slaves as a concubine.

6 Very many of Alexander's friends had an eye, not so much to the atrocity of the crimes that were openly laid to the charge of these men, as to the memory that they had killed Parmenion, which might secretly help the accused with the king; and they rejoiced that his anger had recoiled upon the tools of his anger, and that no power gained through crime was lasting

[c] *Cf.* Sen. *Hippol.* 178; Val. Flacc. v. 427 *amore furens.*

7 scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. Rex, cognita causa, pronuntiavit ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse praeteritum, desperationem salutis suae ; numquam enim talia ausuros qui ipsum ex India sospitem aut optassent reverti
8 aut credidissent reversurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit, nc autem militum, qui saevitiae eorum ministri
9 fuerant, interfici iussit. Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de eis quoque, quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat.
10 Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus, quos longius in Oceanum procedere iusserat, superveniunt.
11 Nuntiabant autem quaedam auditu, alia aditu[1] comperta ; insulam ostio amnis obiectam[2] auro abundare, inopem equorum esse—singulos eos compererant ab eis, qui ex continenti traicere auderent, singulis
12 talentis emi—plenum esse beluarum mare ; aestu secundo eas ferri magnarum navium corpora aequantes, tubae[3] cantu deterritas sequi classem, cum magno aequoris strepitu velut demersa navigia subisse aquas.
13 Cetera incolis crediderant, inter quae : Rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent,
14 sed ab Erythro rege appellari ; esse haud procul a continenti insulam palmetis[4] frequentibus consitam et in medio fere nemore columnam eminere, Erythri

[1] aditu *added by Hedicke, ed. min.*
[2] amnis obiectam *Scheffer;* amni subiectam *A.*
[3] tubae *Sebisius;* truci *A.*
[4] palmetis *Modius;* palmitis *P;* palmis *C.*

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[a] Arrian says nothing of this ; *cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 23. 80.
[b] Arr. viii. 30 ; Strabo xv. 2. 12. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 26. 99 speaks of *hydri marini* twenty cubits in length.
[c] See viii. 9. 14, and note.

7 for anyone. The king, having examined the case, declared that the accusers had passed over one crime, and that the greatest of all, namely, despair of his safety; for they never would have ventured on such conduct, if they had either wished him to return safely from India or had believed that he would
8 return. Therefore he bound these men in fetters, but ordered the 600 soldiers who had been the instru-
9 ments of their cruelty to be put to death. On the same day punishment was inflicted upon those also whom Craterus had brought in, who were responsible for the revolt of the Persians.

10 Not long afterwards Nearchus and Onesicritus arrived, whom he had ordered to advance some dis-
11 tance into the Ocean. They reported some things from hearsay, others which they had learned from observation: that there was an island opposite the mouth of the river, which abounded in gold, but lacked horses [a]—these, they had learned, were bought at a talent apiece from those who ventured to bring them from the mainland—that the sea was full of
12 whales [b]; that these, huge as great ships, floated with the course of the tide, and when frightened off by the blast of the trumpet, from following the ships, plunged under the water with a great roaring of the sea, like so many sunken vessels.

13 As to other matters they had taken the word of the natives; that the Red Sea was so called, not from the colour of its waters, as most people believed, but
14 from a King Erythrus [c]; that there was, not far from the mainland, an island thickly planted with palm-groves, and that in about the middle of the wood a lofty column arose, marking the grave of King Erythrus and inscribed in the characters of that

15 regis monumentum, litteris gentis eius scriptam. Adiciebant navigia, quae lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus, in insulam esse
16 transmissa[1] nec deinde ab eis postea visa. Rex, cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus, rursus eos terram legere iubet, donec ad Euphratis os[2] appellerent classem ; inde adverso amne Babylona subituros.
17 Ipse, animo infinita complexus, statuerat, omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita, ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus, inde, Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis, cursum Gadis dirigere—ibi namque
18 columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat—Hispanias deinde, quas Hiberiam Graeci a flumine Hibero vocabant, adire et praetervehi Alpes Italiaeque oram,
19 unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit[3] materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum, septingentarum[4] carinas navium ponere ; septemremis[5] omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cypriorum regibus imperatum ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent.
20 Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum ipsius, ex vulnere interisse, oppressosque qui vulnerassent
21 eum. Igitur Philippo substituit Eudaemonem—

[1] transmissa *Lauer;* transmissam *A*.
[2] os *added by Acidalius.*
[3] ut (*after* imperavit) *deleted by J. Froben.*
[4] Thapsacum, septingentarum *Zumpt;* thapsagas et ingentarumque *A*.
[5] septemremis *Hedicke;* VII remis *A*.

[a] For *ad orientem cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 12. 11.
[b] Because of its connexion with Tyre and its encouragement of the Tyrians in the war with Alexander.

15 nation. They added that ships carrying sutlers and merchants, whose pilots had followed the report of gold, had crossed to the island, but after that had
16 never been seen by them again. The king, fired with eagerness to know more, bade them go back and coast along the shore until they brought the fleet to the mouth of the Euphrates; from there they would go up the river to Babylon.

17 Alexander himself, having embraced infinite plans in his mind, had determined, after thoroughly subduing the entire seacoast of the Orient,[a] to cross from Syria to Africa, being incensed against the Carthaginians,[b] then passing through the deserts of Numidia, to direct his course to Gades—for the report had spread abroad that the pillars of Hercules were there
18 —then to visit Spain, which the Greeks called Hiberia from the river Hiberus, to approach and skirt the Alps and the seacoast of Italy, from which it is
19 only a short voyage to Epirus. With this in view he ordered the governors of Mesopotamia to cut timber on Mt. Libanus, transport it to Thapsacus, a city of Syria, and lay the keels of 700 ships; all were to be septiremes, and to be taken to Babylon. The kings of the Cypriotes[c] were ordered to furnish copper, hemp and sails.

20 While he was thus engaged, letters of Kings Porus and Taxiles were delivered to him, reporting that Abisares[d] had died a natural death, and Philippus, his satrap, as the result of a wound, and that those who had wounded the latter had been punished.
21 Accordingly, he appointed, in place of Philippus,

[c] On Cyprus as a source of naval supplies see Amm. xiv. 8. 14.

[d] See ix. 1. 7.

dux erat Thracum—Abisaris regnum filio eius attribuit.

22 Ventum est deinde Parsagada[1]; Persica est gens, cuius satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter
23 omnes barbaros eminens. Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum; opes et a maioribus traditas habebat et ipse longa imperii possessione cumu-
24 laverat. Is regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modo ea, sed etiam amicis eius daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae, aurea magni ponderis vasa vestesque pur-
25 pureae, et signati argenti talentum III milia. Ceterum tanta benignitas barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis
26 devinxerat sibi, nullum honorem habuit, admonitusque a quibusdam Bagoam[2] Alexandro cordi esse, respondit amicos regis, non scorta se colere, nec moris esse Persis mares ducere qui stupro effeminarentur.
27 His auditis, spado potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis eiusdem levissimos falsis criminibus clam struxit,[3] monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum
28 ipse iussisset. Interim, quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures implebat, dissimulans causam

[1] Parsagada *Vogel;* persagara *A.*
[2] Bagoam *Jeep;* equam *C;* equa *P.*
[3] clam struxit *Hedicke;* adstruxit *A.*

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[a] Arr. vi. 27. 2 has Εὔδημος; Diod. xix. 14. 1 Εὔδαμος. After Alexander's death he slew Porus and usurped his kingdom; Diod. *l.c.* 8.

[b] See vi. 5. 23.

Eudaemon [a]—he was a general of the Thracians—and gave the kingdom of Abisares to that king's son.

22 From there they came to Parsagada; that is a Persian race, whose satrap was Orsines, prominent among all the barbarians for high birth and wealth.

23 He traced his descent from Cyrus, formerly king of the Persians; he had wealth, both what he had inherited from his forefathers and what he himself had amassed during long possession of sovereignty.

24 He met the king with gifts of every kind, intending to give presents not only to Alexander but to his friends as well. Troops of tamed horses followed him and chariots adorned with silver and gold, costly furniture and splendid gems, golden vases of great weight, purple vestments, and 3000 talents of coined

25 silver. But this great generosity of the barbarian was the cause of his death. For when he had honoured all the friends of the king with gifts beyond their highest hopes, to Bagoas,[b] a eunuch who had won the regard of Alexander through prostitution, he

26 paid no honour, and on being admonished by some that Bagoas was dear to Alexander, replied that he was honouring the friends of the king, not his harlots, and that it was not the custom of the Persians to mate with males who made females of themselves by prostitution.

27 On hearing this, the eunuch exercised the power which he had gained by shame and disgrace against the life of an eminent and guiltless man. For he secretly supplied the most worthless fellows of that same nation with false accusations, warning them not to make them public until he himself should have

28 given the word. Meanwhile, whenever no witnesses were present, he filled the credulous ears of the king

29 irae, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, iam tamen vilior ; reus enim in secreto agebatur latentis periculi ignarus. Et importunissimum scortum ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinen modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat.

30 Iam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia, et Fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est, appetebat. Forte enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander iussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum eius corpus, cui dare volebat inferias.

31 Auro argentoque conditorium[1] repletum esse crediderat—quippe ita fama Persae vulgaverant—, sed praeter clipeum eius putrem et arcus duos Scythicos

32 et acinacem nihil repperit. Ceterum, corona aurea imposita, amiculo cui assuerat ipse solium in quo corpus iacebat velavit, miratus tanti nominis regem tantis praeditum opibus haud pretiosius sepultum

33 esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. Proximus erat lateri spado, qui regem intuens : " Quid mirum," inquit, " est inania sepulchra esse regum, cum satraparum domus aurum inde egestum capere non possint ?

34 Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non videram, sed ex Dareo ita accepi, III milia talentum

35 condita esse cum Cyro. Hinc illa benignitas in te, ut

[1] conditorium *Heinse;* conditum *A*.

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[a] For *in secreto cf.* vii. 1. 13.

[b] See Strabo xv. 3. 7 ; Arr. vi. 29. 4-11 ; also Ker Porter, *Travels*, quoted by Mützell.

with lies, concealing the reason for his anger, in order to add greater weight to his accusations.
29 Orsines as yet was not suspected, but nevertheless was already less esteemed; for he was secretly [a] being incriminated without being aware of the hidden danger. And that most shameless harlot, not forgetting his deception even amid debauchery and the endurance of shame, whenever he had aroused the king's passion for himself, charged Orsines now with avarice, sometimes even with treason.
30 And now the calumnies were ripe for the ruin of a blameless man, and Fate was on hand, whose will is inescapable. For it chanced that Alexander ordered the tomb of Cyrus [b] to be opened, in which his body had been laid at rest, and to which Alexander wished
31 to pay funereal honours. He had believed it to be a storehouse filled with gold and silver—for that was common rumour among the Persians—, but except the king's mouldering shield, two Scythian bows, [c]
32 and a scimitar he found nothing. However, having placed a crown of gold upon the coffin in which the body lay, he covered it over with the robe which he himself was accustomed to wear, expressing surprise that a king of such renown and endowed with such power had been buried no more sumptuously than
33 if he had been one of the common folk. The eunuch was at Alexander's side; looking significantly at him, he said: "What wonder if the tombs of kings are empty, when the houses of their satraps cannot contain the gold that they have amassed from them?
34 For my part, I had never seen the tomb before, but I learned from Darius that 3000 talents of gold were
35 buried with Cyrus. Hence that generosity to you,

[c] See Amm. xxii. 8. 10, note.

quod impune habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret."

36 Concitaverat iam animum in iram, cum ei[1] quibus negotium idem dederat superveniunt. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati, falsis criminibus occupant aures.
37 Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula est traditus. Non contentus supplicio insontis, spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens : "Audieram," inquit, "in Asia olim regnasse feminas ;
38 hoc vero novum est, regnare castratum ! " Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum nec insontis modo, sed
39 eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. Eodem tempore Phradates, regnum affectasse suspectus, occiditur. Coeperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda
40 supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda ; scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam, et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncestem Alexandrum, delatum a duo-
41 bus indicibus, damnare non sustinuerat, humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem quia ceteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi, hostibus victis
42 regna reddiderat[2] ; ad ultimum vitae tantum[3] ab semetipso degeneravit, ut invicti[4] quondam adversus libidinem animi, arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam.

43 Eisdem fere diebus litteras a Coeno accipit de rebus

[1] ii *Vindelinus;* hii *A* (hi *F*).
[2] regna reddiderat *Freinshem;* regnare duxerat *A*.
[3] vitae tantum *Heraeus;* traiectum *A*.
[4] invicti *Hedicke;* in *A*.

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[a] See Arr. vi. 30. 1, who does not tell this story, but charges Orsines (Orxines) with many crimes.
[b] See vi. 5. 21 ; viii. 3. 17.
[c] For *erga cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 74. [d] See vii. 1. 5-9.

in order that what Orsines could not keep with safety, he might even curry favour by giving away."

36 He had already aroused the king's mind to anger, when those to whom he had entrusted the same business arrived. On one side Bagoas, on the other those whom he had suborned, filled the king's ears
37 with false charges. Before Orsines suspected that he was being accused he was delivered into bondage. Not content with the punishment of an innocent man,[a] the eunuch laid his hand upon him as he was about to be executed. Orsines with a glance at him said: "I had heard that women once reigned in Asia; this however is something new, for a eunuch to
38 reign!" Such was the end of one of the noblest of the Persians, who was not only blameless but of remark-
39 able kindness towards the king. At the same time Phradates,[b] suspected of aspiring to royal power, was put to death. Alexander had begun to be too hasty in inflicting prompt punishment, and also in
40 believing calumnies; so true is it that success is able to change one's nature, and that rarely is anyone cautious enough towards his own good fortune.[c] For this same man shortly before had not been able to bring himself to punish Lyncestes Alexander[d]
41 though he had been charged by two witnesses, had even suffered humbler criminals to be acquitted against his desire because the rest believed them innocent, and had restored their thrones to van-
42 quished enemies; but towards the end of his life he had so degenerated from his true self, that though formerly of a mind proof against lust, at the caprice of a catamite he gave kingdoms to some and took life from others.

43 At about that same time Alexander received a

in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subigit.
44 Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositus, cum expeditionem in Getas[1] faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito co-
45 ortis, cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Qua cognita clade, Seuthes Odrysas, populares suos, ad defectionem compulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia, ne Graecia quidem[2] *tumultibus inconcussa mansit. Nam Alexander, punita insolentia satraparum quorundum, qui dum in extremo orbe Indorum armis retinetur, summa scelera atque flagitia in provinciales exercuerant, ceteris metum iniecerat. Hi in paribus delictis eandem facinorum poenam veriti, ad mercennariorum militum fidem confugerunt, illorum manibus, si ad supplicium poscerentur, se tutaturi, aut pecunia quanta poterat coacta, fuga salutem petiverunt. Qua re cognita, litterae ad omnes Asiae praetores missae sunt, quibus inspectis, e vestigio omnes peregrinos milites, qui stipendia sub ipsis facerent, dimittere iubebantur.*

Erat inter eos Harpalus, quem Alexander, quod propter ipsius amicitiam olim a Philippo eiectus solum verterat, inter fidissimos habebat, et post Mazaei mortem satrapeam Babyloniae attribuerat thesaurorumque custodiae praefecerat. Is igitur cum fiduciam, quam in singulari regis gratia habere poterat, magnitudine flagitiorum consump-

[1] Getas *Vindelinus;* gestas *A*.

[2] quidem] *the words which follow are added by Freinshem. In A the next words are* igitur ***, *x. 2. 1. C adds in margin* hic desunt II lineae.

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[a] Curtius forgets that Coenus had died in India; see ix. 3. 20. Or more probably, as Warmington suggests, the Greek originally had *ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ* (=*ab communi* or *ab commune*), meaning from the Macedonian commune (= government). See also Mützell *ad loc.*

[b] According to Justin, they were destroyed by the Getae, not by the storms. *Cf.* Justin xii. 1. 4.

letter from Coenus [a] about what had happened in Europe and Asia while the king subdued India.
44 Zopyrion, governor of Thrace, while making an expedition against the Getae, had been overwhelmed with his whole army by tempests and gales which
45 suddenly arose.[b] On learning of this disaster Seuthes had forced his subjects the Odrysae to revolt. While Thrace was almost lost, Greece also [c] *did not remain unshaken by disturbances. For Alexander, by punishing the insolence of certain satraps who, while he was detained at the end of the world by war with the Indi, had practised the greatest and most disgraceful crimes against the provincials, had inspired fear in the rest. These, being guilty of like offences and fearing the same punishment for their crimes, took refuge in the protection of the mercenary soldiers, expecting by such troops as these to defend themselves if they should be demanded for punishment, or after exacting as much money as they could, sought safety in flight. After this was known, letters were sent to all the governors of Asia, and when these were read, they found that they were ordered to disband on the spot all the foreign soldiers who were serving under them.*

Among these was Harpalus. Alexander, because years before Philip, just on account of the friendship between Harpalus and his son, had driven him out and Harpalus had fled the country, regarded him as one of his most faithful friends. And after the death of Mazaeus he had made him satrap [d] of Babylon and had appointed him custodian of the royal treasures.[e] Harpalus, then, having by his flagrant offences lost the confidence which he could have felt in the remarkable favour of the king, abstracted 5000 talents [f]

[c] See crit. note 2.

[d] See Plut. *Alex.* xxv. [e] See Arr. iii. 19. 7.

[f] Diod. xvii. 108. 6.

sisset, quinque milia talentorum ex gaza regia abstulit, conductaque sex milium mercennariorum manu, in Europam evasit. Iampridem enim luxu et libidinibus in praeceps tractus, desperataque regis venia, adversus iram eius alienum subsidium circumspexerat et Athenienses, quorum cum potentiam et auctoritatem apud ceteros Graecos, tum occultum in Macedonas odium norat, sedulo coluerat. Itaque spem suis ostendit Athenienses, adventu suo cognito, copiisque et pecuniis quas adduceret coram inspectis, protinus arma consiliaque esse sociaturos. Nam a populo imperito et mobili per homines improbos et venales omnia se muneribus consecuturum existimabat.

II. Igitur xxx navibus Sunium transmittunt—promuntorium est Atticae terrae—unde portum urbis
2 petere decreverant. His cognitis, rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus, classem parari iubet,
3 Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod consilium clam agitanti litterae redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos; mox, concilio plebis habito iussum urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, navibus inde Cretam transvectum, amico quodam[1] auctore interemptum
4 per insidias. His laetus, in Europam traiciendi consilium omisit, sed exsules praeter eos, qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Graecorum
5 civitatibus quis pulsi erant iussit. Et Graeci, haud

[1] navibus . . . quodam *Hedicke;* quibus interceptum trucidatum a quodam *A*.

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[a] The Piraeus.
[b] Especially the orators; see Plut. *Demos.* xxv.
[c] See Plut. *l.c.*
[d] See Diod. xvii. 108. 8; his name was Thibron.
[e] More than 20,000; Diod. xviii. 8. 5.

from the royal treasure, hired a band of 6000 mercenaries, and escaped to Europe. For long since, driven headlong by extravagance and his passions, and despairing of pardon from the king, he had looked about for help from others against Alexander's anger, and had sedulously courted the Athenians, whose power and influence with the rest of the Greeks he knew, as well as their secret hatred of the Macedonians. Therefore he pointed out to his followers that the Athenians, knowing of his arrival and seeing before their eyes the forces and the money which he was bringing, would join forces and plans with them at once. For he thought that from an inexperienced and fickle people by making use of unprincipled and venal persons he could gain everything by bribes.

II. Therefore with thirty ships they cross to Sunium—it is a promontory of the land of Attica—from which they had decided to go to the port [a] of
2 the city. Alexander, having learned this, and being equally incensed at Harpalus and the Athenians, ordered a fleet to be made ready, intending to go
3 at once to Athens. As he was secretly considering this plan, a letter was delivered to him, saying that Harpalus had in fact entered Athens, and by his money had won the support of the leading men [b] but that presently, after an assembly of the people had been held, he was ordered to leave the city [c] and had taken refuge with his Greek soldiers; then he had crossed to Crete in his ships and at the instigation of a friend [d] had been treacherously slain.
4 Alexander, rejoicing at this, gave up his design of crossing into Europe, and issued orders that the exiles,[e] except such as were stained by the blood of citizens, should be received by all the Greek cities
5 from which they had been banished. And the

ausi imperium aspernari, quamquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quoque,
6 quae exstarent, restituere damnatis. Soli Atheni-enses, non sui[1] modo, sed etiam Graeciae[2] vindices, colluvionem ordinum[3] hominumque[4] aegre ferebant, non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi
7 assueti; prohibuere igitur exsules finibus, omnia potius toleraturi quam purgamenta quondam urbis suae, tunc etiam exsilii admitterent.

8 Alexander, senioribus militum in patriam remissis, XIII milia peditum et II milia equitum quae in Asia retineret eligi iussit, existimans modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis praesidia disposuisset, nuperque conditas urbes colonis replesset
9 res retinere[5] cupientibus. Ceterum priusquam excerneret quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse compererat et, quamquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat,
10 dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi temptari ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus, professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, mensas totis castris[6] poni iussit et x
11 milia talentum proferri. Tum demum cum[7] fide facta

[1] sui *Jeep;* suo *A.* [2] Graeciae *Hedicke;* publice *A.*
[3] ordinum *Zumpt;* ordinem *A.*
[4] hominumque *Jeep;* hominum quia *A* (hominem quia *F*).
[5] retinere *Hedicke;* renouare *A.*
[6] *P omits at the end of a folio the words which follow, as far as x. 5. 8* nec se ipsos, *two folios apparently being lost.*
[7] cum *added by Jeep.*

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[a] Rather a favourite word with Curtius; *cf.* vi. 11. 2; viii. 5. 8.
[b] 10,000 in number; Diod. xvii. 109. 1.

Greeks, not daring to disregard his order, although they thought that it marked the beginning of the breakdown of their laws, even restored to those who had been condemned such of their property as was
6 left. The Athenians alone, defenders not only of themselves but also of Greece, could not tolerate such a cesspool of classes and men, being accustomed to be governed, not by the command of a king, but
7 by the laws and ancestral customs; therefore they shut out the exiles from their territories, preferring to endure anything rather than admit what was once the off-scourings [a] of their city, and then even of their places of exile.

8 Alexander, having sent the older of his soldiers [b] to their native land, ordered 13,000 infantry and 2000 horsemen to be selected for him to retain in Asia, thinking that Asia could be held by an army of moderate size, because he had distributed garrisons in many places and had filled the newly founded cities with colonists desirous of maintaining
9 the *status quo*. But before selecting those whom he intended to retain, he ordered all the soldiers to make a declaration of their debts. He had learned that many had heavy indebtedness, and although it had been contracted by their own extravagance, he had nevertheless decided to liquidate it himself.
10 The soldiers, thinking that they were being tested, in order that he might more easily separate the wastrels from the frugal, had delayed for some time in making their reports. And the king, knowing well that it was shame and not stubbornness which kept them from confessing their indebtedness, ordered tables to be set up throughout the whole
11 camp, and 10,000 talents to be brought out. Then

professio est. Nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam c et xxx talenta superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus, tot divitissimarum gentium victor, plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit ex Asia.

12 Ceterum ut cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati, vaecordes et disciplinae militaris immemores, seditiosis vocibus castra complent regemque ferocius quam alias adorti, omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt, deformia ora cicatricibus cani-
13 tiemque capitum ostentantes. Nec aut praefectorum[1] castigatione aut verecundia regis deterriti,[2] tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem loqui inhibebant, palam professi nusquam inde nisi in
14 patriam vestigium esse moturos. Tandem silentio facto, magis quia motum esse credebant quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset, exspectabant, cum[3] ille :

15 " Quid haec," inquit, " repens consternatio et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat ? Eloqui metuo, palam certe ; rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum, cui non alloquendi, non noscendi monendi-
16 que aut intuendi vos ius reliquistis. Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare statuerim,[4] tam illos acclamantes video qui abituri sunt, quam hos cum quibus praemissos sub-
17 sequi statui. Quid hoc est rei ? dispari in causa

[1] praefectorum *I;* profectorum *A.*
[2] deterriti *Lauer;* deterritum *A.*
[3] cum *added by Hedicke.*
[4] statuerim *J. Froben;* statuerem *A.*

at last, when they were satisfied that he was in earnest, they declared their debts. And out of so great a sum of money not more than 130 talents remained. To such an extent had that army, though victor over so many of the richest nations, yet carried off from Asia more victory than booty.

12 But when it was known that some were being sent home and others retained, the soldiers, thinking that he would establish the permanent seat of his kingdom in Asia, frenzied and forgetful of military discipline, filled the camp with mutinous talk, and assailing the king more boldly than ever before, began all together to demand their discharge, displaying their faces dis-
13 figured with scars and their hoary heads. Prevented by neither the rebukes of their officers nor by respect for the king, with rebellious shouts and military licence they interrupted Alexander when he wished to speak, and openly declared that they would move a step from there in no direction except towards
14 their native land. At last, when silence had been made rather because they thought that he had been influenced than because they could be, they were waiting to see what he would do, when he said :

15 "What does this sudden disturbance and such insolent and furious lawlessness threaten? I fear to speak, at least plainly; you have broken my authority and I am king on sufferance, to whom you have not left the privilege of addressing you, of knowing and advising you, or even of looking you in the face.
16 In fact, when I have decided to send some to their native land and a little later to take others with me, I witness the same uproar from those who are to go as from those with whom I decided to follow those
17 who had been sent in advance. What does this

idem omnium clamor est! Pervelim scire utrum qui discedunt,[1] an qui retinentur, de me querantur."
18 Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem; ita pariter ex tota contione responsum est omnes queri.
19 Tum ille: "Non, hercule," inquit, "potest fieri ut adducar querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse quam ostenditis, in qua maior pars exercitus non est, utpote cum plures dimiserim quam retenturus sum.
20 Subest nimirum altius malum quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam[2] in illis pudor a ceteris
21 destitutos relinquendi. Verum ego tam furiosae consternationis oblitus, remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem, hercule, spem quam ex vobis conceperam, damno nec ut cum militibus meis—iam enim esse desistis—, sed ut cum ingratissimis operis[3]
22 agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quae circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis obliti status eius, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni, hercule, qui in eodem consenescatis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regere fortunam.
23 "En insolentiam![4] Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt! modo sub Philippo seminudis amicula ex purpura sordent! aurum et argentum oculi ferre non

[1] discedunt *Lauer;* descendunt *A.*
[2] sed est quidam *J. Froben;* sedem quidem *A.*
[3] operis *Ruben;* oportet *A.*
[4] insolentiam *Hedicke;* tandem *A.*

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[a] Diod. xvi. 2. 2. [b] Justin vii. 3. 1.
[c] Arr. vii. 9. 2.

mean? The shouting of all is the same for different reasons! I should very much like to know whether it is those who are to go, or those who are to be retained who complain of me."

18 You would have believed that all with one voice raised a shout; so unanimously came the reply from
19 the whole assembly that they all complained. Then the king continued: "By Heaven! it is impossible for me to be led to believe that you all have the reason for complaint which you allege, in which the greater part of the army does not join, inasmuch as I dismissed more than I am intending to retain.
20 Undoubtedly there is some deeper evil which turns you all from me. For when has a whole army abandoned its king? Not even slaves run away from their masters in a single body, but even they feel some shame in leaving those who have been
21 deserted by the rest. But I, forgetting such mad mutiny, am trying to apply remedies to those that are incurable. By Heaven! I reject all the hope which I had conceived from you, and I have decided to treat with you, not as with my soldiers—for that you have already ceased to be—but as the most ungrate-
22 ful of hired hands. You have begun to be crazed by the prosperity which surrounds you, forgetting the condition from which you were saved by my kindness, in which, by Heaven! you deserve to grow old, since it is easier for you to master bad fortune than good.

23 "There's insolence! You, who a short time ago were paying tribute to the Illyrians [a] and the Persians,[b] are disdainful of Asia and the spoils of so many nations. Those who but now were half-naked [c] under Philip find purple robes mean! Their

possunt! Lignea enim vasa desiderant et ex cratibus
24 scuta robiginemque[1] gladiorum. Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi et D talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex esset[2] haud amplius quam LX talenta,[3] meorum mox operum fundamenta. Quibus tamen—absit invidia—imperium maximae terrarum parti
25 imposui. Asiaene pertaesum est quae vos gloria rerum gestarum dis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, ni aes alienum luissem,
26 nempe in Asiatica praeda. Nec pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere; nam ceterorum, dum etiam spei vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt.
27 "Bonis vero militibus cariturus sum, pelicum suarum concubinis, quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod impenditur! Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites! facessite hinc ocius! ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo;
28 liberate oculos meos, ingratissimi cives! Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine vestro rege redeuntes! obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque!
29 Triumphabo, mehercule, de fuga vestra et, ubicumque ero, expetam poenas hos cum quibus me relinquitis

[1] robiginemque *Hedicke;* rubiginemque *A.*
[2] esset *added by Hedicke.*
[3] talenta, meorum mox *Hedicke;* talentorum mox *A.*

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[a] Arr. vii. 9. 6; Plut. *Alex.* xv. 1 says seventy.
[b] That is, of returning home.
[c] *quod, i.e. pelices.* [d] *i.e.* from the sight of you.

eyes cannot endure gold and silver! For they desire wooden bowls, wicker shields, and rusty swords!
24 Such was the splendid equipment in which I received you, besides a debt of 500 talents, when the whole royal equipment was not more than 60 talents,[a] the foundation of the deeds which I afterwards accomplished. With which nevertheless—may envy withhold her hand!—I imposed my rule upon the
25 greatest part of the earth. Are you wearied of Asia, which by the glory of your deeds has made you equal to the gods? You are in a hurry to desert your king and go into Europe, when to very many of you your travelling expenses would have been lacking if I had not liquidated your debts, and that too in booty from
26 Asia. And you are not ashamed, carrying about in your bottomless bellies the spoils of conquered nations, to wish to return to your wives and children, to whom few of you can show the fruits of victory; for of the rest your very arms have been pawned, even while you are on the way to the realization of your hopes.[b]
27 "Fine soldiers truly I am going to lose, bed-mates of mistresses; men to whom this alone remains out of such great riches, and on this, wealth is being spent.[c] Therefore let the ways be opened for those who desert me! Get out from here! And quickly too! I with the Persians will protect your backs as you flee. I detain no one; free my eyes,[d] most
28 ungrateful of citizens! Joyfully will your parents and children receive you, returning without your king! They will come out to meet deserters and
29 runaways! I shall triumph, by Heaven! in your flight, and wherever I shall be, I shall punish you by honouring and preferring to you those with

colendo praeferendoque vobis. Iam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit." Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali et in medium armatorum agmen se immisit, notatos quoque qui ferocissime oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit[1] nec ausos repugnare XIII asservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

III. Quis crederet saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito metu, etiam cum[2] ad supplicium videret trahi nihilo[3] ausos graviora quam ceteros ?[4] . . . Sive nominis, quod gentes quae sub regibus vivunt reges[5] inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio sive fiducia tanta vi exercentis imperium conterruit eos ; singulare certe ediderunt patientiae exemplum adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum, cum sub noctem interfectos esse cognossent, ut nihil omiserint quod singuli magis oboedienter et pie facerent. Nam cum postero die prohibiti aditu fuissent,[6] Asiaticis modo militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidere clamorem, denuntiantes protinus sese[7] morituros, si rex perseveraret irasci. At ille pervicacis ad omnia quae agitasset animi, peregri-

[1] corripuit *Lauer;* corripit *A.*
[2] etiam cum *Bentley;* et cum *A.*
[3] nihilo *Acidalius;* nihil *A.*
[4] ceteros] *a lacuna after this word was assumed by Freinshem.*
[5] vivunt reges *added by Stangl.*
[6] fuissent *Bentley;* uenissent *A.*
[7] sese *Hedicke;* esse *A.*

whom you leave me. Moreover, you will soon know how much an army is worth without a head, and
30 what help there is in my single person." Then in a rage he leaped down from the tribunal and plunged into the midst of the array of armed soldiers, and having noted those who had spoken most mutinously, he seized them[a] one by one, none daring to resist, and handed over thirteen of them to his bodyguard to be kept in custody.

III. Who would have believed that an assemblage
2 recently so savage was paralysed by sudden fear, even when they saw those who had dared nothing more serious than the rest dragged off to punishment? . . .
3 Whether veneration for the mere name, since nations which live under kings honour their kings among the gods, or a particular veneration for Alexander himself, or the confidence with which he exercised his authority with such force, struck them all with
4 terror; at any rate, they showed a remarkable instance of patience, and were so far from being exasperated by the execution of their fellow-soldiers when towards nightfall they learned that they had been put to death, that there was nothing that they left undone to make each man act with more obedi-
5 ence and loyalty. For on the following day, when they had been refused access to the king,[b] and only Asiatic soldiers were admitted, they uttered mournful cries throughout the whole camp, declaring that they wished to die forthwith if the king persisted
6 in being angry. But he, determined to carry out everything upon which he had resolved, ordered an

[a] According to Arr. vii. 8. 3, this happened before his speech.

[b] See Arr. vii. 11. 1.

norum militum contionem advocari iubet, Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis, et, cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete, talem orationem habuit:

7 "Cum ex Europa traicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum quod
8 de his credidi famae. Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros erga reges suos pietatis in-
9 victae. Luxu omni[1] fluere credideram et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates; at, hercules, munia militiae hoc animorum corporumque robore[2] aeque impigre toleratis et, cum fortes viri sitis, non forti-
10 tudinem magis quam fidem colitis. Hoc ego vero[3] nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et dilectum e vobis iuniorum habui et vos meorum militum corpori immiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis; obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe praestantior est quam ceteris.

11 "Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum matrimonio[4] iunxi, non dedignatus ex captiva liberos
12 tollere. Mox deinde cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi, proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et
13 victoris excluderem. Proinde genitos esse vos mihi,

[1] omni *Hedicke;* omnia *A.*
[2] robore *Francine;* robor *A.* [3] vero *Hedicke;* non *A.*
[4] in (*before* matrimonio) *deleted by Hedicke.*

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[a] That is, Persians in the wide sense of the word; *cf.* Arr. vii. 11. 1 ff.
[b] Rather, Bactrian; Arr. vii. 4. 4.
[c] Barsinê, Arr. vii. 4. 6; Statira, Diod. xvii. 105. 6.
[d] Arr. vii. 4. 5-6 mentions seven by name, and refers to 80 besides.

assembly of the foreign [a] troops to be called, while the Macedonians were kept within their camp, and when the foreign troops had come together in great numbers, he summoned an interpreter and addressed them as follows :

7 " When I was crossing from Europe into Asia, I hoped that I should add many famous nations and a great force of men to my kingdom. And I was not deceived in believing what was reported about them.
8 But to that report this also is added, that I behold brave men of invincible loyalty towards their kings.
9 I had supposed that luxury prevailed everywhere, and that by excess of good fortune you were plunged into pleasures ; but, by Heaven ! you endure with equal indefatigability, such is that strength of yours of both mind and body, the duties of military service, and while you are brave men, you cultivate loyalty
10 no less than courage. This, it is true, I now declare for the first time, but have long known it. Therefore I have both made a selection from the men of military age among you, and have incorporated them with my soldiers. You have the same equipment, the same arms ; but in obedience and submission to discipline you are far superior to the rest.
11 " It is for this reason that I myself united in marriage with me Roxanê, daughter of the Persian [b] Oxyartes, not disdaining to rear children from a
12 captive. Then later, when I desired to propagate the stock of my race more extensively, I took to wife a daughter [c] of Darius and set the example to my nearest friends [d] of begetting children from captives, in order that by this sacred alliance I might abolish all distinction between vanquished and victor.
13 Therefore believe that in my eyes you are soldiers

non ascitos milites credite ! Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est ; Macedonum vobis arma do, inveteravi peregrinam novitatem ; et cives mei estis
14 et milites. Omnia eundem ducunt colorem ; nec Persis Macedonum morem[1] adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indecorum. Eiusdem iuris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt."[2] *Hac oratione habita, Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Persas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per quos cum Macedones, qui huius seditionis principes erant, vincti, ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex eis, auctoritate et aetate gravem, ad regem ita locutum ferunt :*

IV. " Quousque," inquit, " animo tuo etiam per supplicia et quidem externi moris obsequeris ?[3] Milites tui, cives tui, incognita causa, et[4] captivis suis ducentibus, trahuntur ad poenam. Si mortem meruisse iudicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta."
2 Amico animo, si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus—nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant—
3 mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, iussit. Ne[5] hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos eius manipuli adeunt petentes, ut, si quos adhuc pristina noxa iudi-

[1] morem *Vindelinus;* more *A.*

[2] victuri sunt] *the words which follow, as far as the beginning of ch. 4, were added by J. Froben. In A a considerable space is left vacant, and in BL a corrector has written* hic deest.

[3] obsequeris *Giunta;* exsequeris *A.*

[4] et *Stangl;* a *A.*

[5] Ne *Zumpt;* nec *A.*

[a] See crit. note 2.

of our blood, not brought in from outside. Asia and Europe now belong to one and the same kingdom; I give you the arms of the Macedonians, I have made you old soldiers instead of new and foreign ones; you are both my citizens and my
14 soldiers. All things take on the same colour; it is neither unbecoming for the Persians to simulate the manners of the Macedonians, nor for the Macedonians to copy those of the Persians. Those ought to have the same rights who are to live under the same sovereign." *After*[a] *having made this address, Alexander entrusted to Persians the guardianship of his person, made his attendants Persians, his servants Persians. When the Macedonians who were leaders in this mutiny were being led by these in bonds to execution, they say that one of them, a man of weight in authority and in years, spoke as follows to the king:*

IV. "How long will you gratify your mind even with punishments, and those too of a foreign kind? Your soldiers, your citizens, without a trial and led by their captives, are dragged off to death. If it is your judgement that we deserve death, at least
2 change those who inflict the penalty." The king was admonished in a friendly spirit, if he had been willing to listen to the truth, but his wrath had changed to madness. Therefore he ordered again—for those to whom the order had been given had hesitated—that the mutineers be drowned in the river, bound as
3 they were.[b] Not even such a punishment as this roused mutiny among the soldiers. On the contrary, the companies went to the leaders of the forces and to the king's friends, asking that if he judged that

[b] According to Arr. vii. 8, this took place at Opis on the Tigris.

caret esse contactos, iuberet interfici. Offerre se corpora irae; trucidaret.[1] *Tandem prae dolore vix mentis compotes, universi concurrunt ad regiam, armisque ante fores proiectis, tunicati astantes, ut nuda et obnoxia poenis corpora admitterentur, flentes orabant. Non se deprecari, quin suppliciis sontium expiarentur quae per contumaciam deliquissent. Regis iracundiam sibi morte tristiorem esse.*

Cumque dies noctesque ante regiam persistentes miserabili clamore habituque paenitentiam suam approbarent, biduum tamen adversus humillimas suorum preces iracundia regis duravit. Tertio die victus constantia supplicum, processit, incusataque leniter exercitus immodestia, non sine multis utrimque lacrimis in gratiam se cum ipsis redire professus est. Digna tamen res visa est quae maioribus hostiis expiaretur. Itaque sacrificio magnifice perpetrato, Macedonum simul Persarumque primores invitavit ad epulas. Novem milia eo convivio excepisse proditum est memoriae, eosque omnes, invitante rege, ex eadem creterra libavisse, Graecis barbarisque vatibus cum alia fausta vota praeeuntibus, tum imprimis, ut utriusque imperii societas in idem corpus coalita perpetua esset. Maturata deinde est missio, et infirmissimus quisque exauctorati. Amicorum quoque seniorum quibusdam commeatum dedit. Ex quibus Clitus cognomine Albus Gorgiasque et Polydamas et Antigenes fuere. Abeuntibus non modo praeteriti tem

[1] irae; trucidaret *Modius;* ira retrucidaret *A*. *The words which follow, as far as the beginning of ch. 5, were added by Freinshem. In A no part of the page is left vacant, but either in the line itself (FL m. pr. V) or in the margin (BL corr.) a corrector added* hinc deest.

[a] See crit. note 1. [b] Arr. vii. 12. 3.

there were any besides who were stained with the same guilt, he should order them to be put to death; that they offered their bodies to his anger; let him slaughter them. *At last,*[a] *almost beside themselves with grief, they ran to the royal quarters in a body, and throwing down their arms before the doors and standing in their tunics, begged with tears that their bodies, unarmed and submissive to punishment, might be admitted. That they did not refuse by the punishment of the guilty to expiate the faults that they had committed through insubordination. That the anger of the king was to them more terrible than death.*

But although, continuing to stand day and night before the royal quarters, they manifested their repentance by pitiful outcries and attire, yet the king's wrath held out for two days against his men's most abject prayers. On the third day, overcome by their constant entreaties, he came out, and after mildly censuring the lack of discipline of the army, declared, not without the shedding of many tears by both sides, that he was reconciled with them. Nevertheless the event seemed to call for expiation by greater victims. Accordingly, after offering a splendid sacrifice, he invited the chief men of the Macedonians and at the same time those of the Persians to a feast. It is reported that he entertained 9000 men at that banquet, and that they all, at the king's invitation, made libation from the same bowl, while the priests of the Greeks and of the barbarians dictated not only other propitious prayers, but especially that a union of the two kingdoms should be consolidated for all time in the same body. Then the discharge was hastened, and all the weakest soldiers were mustered out. He also granted a furlough to some of his friends of greater age.[b] *Among these were Clitus, surnamed Albus, Gorgias, Polydamas, and Antigenes. To those who left*

poris stipendia cum fide persolvit, verum etiam talentum adiecit in singulos milites viatici nomine.

Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos—ad decem milia fuisse traduntur—apud se relinqui iussit, ne in Macedoniam cum parentibus transgressi et coniugibus liberisque prioribus permixti, familias contentionibus et discordiis implerent; sibi curae fore pollicitus, ut patrio more instituti militiae artes edocerentur. Ita plus decem milia veteranorum dimissa sunt, additusque est qui eos deduceret Craterus, ex praecipuis regis amicis. Cui si quid humani accidisset, Polyperconti parere iussi sunt. Litteris etiam ad Antipatrum scriptis, honorem emeritis haberi iussit, ut quotiens ludi atque certamina ederentur, in primis ordinibus coronati spectarent, utque fato functorum liberi impuberes in paterna stipendia succederent. Craterum Macedoniae finitimisque regionibus cum imperio praeesse placuit, Antipatrum autem cum supplemento iuniorum Macedonum ad regem venire. Verebatur enim ne per discordiam praefecti cum Olympiade gravis aliqua clades acciperetur. Nam multas ad Alexandrum epistulas mater, multas Antipater miserat, vicissimque alter alterum arroganter et acerbe pleraque facere criminabantur, quae ad dedecus aut detrimentum regiae maiestatis pertinerent. Postquam enim rumor occisi regis, temere vulgatus, in Macedonian manavit, mater eius sororque Cleopatra

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[a] See Arr. vii. 12. 1. [b] Justin xii. 12. 8.
[c] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 12. 3 f.
[d] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 13. 4: Justin xii. 12. 4.

he not only faithfully gave pay for their past services, but also added a talent to each soldier for travelling expenses.[a]

He gave orders that the sons whom they had begotten from Asiatic wives—they are said to have numbered about 10,000—should be left with him, for fear that if they returned to Macedonia with their fathers and mingled with the former wives and children of these, they might fill the families with strife and discord; he promised that he would take care that the children should be trained in the customs of their country and taught the principles of military service. So, more than 10,000 veterans were discharged, and Craterus,[b] *one of the king's special friends, was appointed to lead them. If anything to which humanity is liable should befall him, they were ordered to obey Polypercon. A letter was also written to Antipater with orders that honour should be paid to the discharged veterans, so that whenever games and athletic contests were celebrated, they should witness them from the first rows of seats and with garlands on their heads, and that the ungrown children of those who should have died should inherit their fathers' pay. He appointed Craterus governor of Macedonia and the adjacent districts,*[c] *but gave orders that Antipater*[d] *should come to the king with a reinforcement of younger Macedonians. For he feared that through the discord between the governor and Olympias some grave calamity might be suffered. For his mother had sent many letters to Alexander, and Antipater many, in which they charged each other with numerous arrogant and hostile acts which tended to the disgrace or the impairment of the royal majesty. For after the rumour of the king's death, which had been falsely spread abroad, had seeped into Macedonia, his mother and his sister Cleopatra*[e] *had set on foot a revolu-*

[a] Plut. *Alex.* lxviii. 3.

tumultum moverant, et haec quidem paternum regnum, Olympias Epirum occupaverat.

Forte, dum eiusmodi litterae redduntur, Hephaestion, qui omnium arcanorum particeps haberetur, resignatas ab Alexandro simul inspiciebat. Neque retinuit eum rex, sed detractum digito anulum ori legentis admovit, nihil eorum quae perscripta essent in alios efferendum significans. Incusasse autem ambos fertur et matris insolentia permotus exclamasse, eam pro habitatione decem mensium, quam in utero sibi praebuisset, gravem mercedem exigere, Antipatrum vero suspectum habuisse, parta ex Spartanis victoria, tollere animos et imperio tot iam annos prorogato supra praefecti modum esse elatum. Itaque cum eius gravitas atque integritas a quibusdam praedicaretur, respondit exterius quidem album videri, sed si penitus introspiceretur, totum esse purpureum. Pressit tamen suspicionem suam neque ullum manifestius abalienati animi indicium protulit. Credidere tamen plerique Antipatrum, arcessi se supplicii causa ratum, impiis insidiis mortis regis, quae paulo post secuta est, auctorem exstitisse.

Interea rex, ut imminuti exercitus detrimenta sarciret, optimum quemque Persarum in Macedonicos ordines allegit; mille etiam praestantissimos segregavit ad corporis custodiam; aliam hastatorum manum, haud pauciores decem milibus, ad regium tabernaculum excubias agere iussit. Haec agenti Peucestes supervenit cum viginti mili-

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[a] Macedonia, see note *e* on p. 501.
[b] Plut. *Apophtheg.* 39; Arr. vii. 12. 6.
[c] *Cf.* Diod. xvii. 101. 3.

tion, and his sister had taken possession of her father's kingdom,[a] *and Olympias, of Epirus.*

It happened that while letters of that kind were being delivered, Hephaestion, who was wont to be regarded as the confidant of all the king's secrets, was at the same time looking over the letters that had been opened by Alexander. And the king did not prevent him, but taking off his ring from his finger, he laid it upon the reader's lips, signifying that nothing of what had been written should be communicated to others. But he is said to have railed at them both, and, angered by the insolence of his mother, to have said that she for a lodging of ten months which she had furnished him in her womb was exacting a heavy price,[b] *but that he had held Antipater in suspicion, on the ground that having gained a victory over the Spartans he was growing arrogant, and because of power already prolonged over so many years had risen above the conduct becoming a prefect.* Accordingly, *when Antipater's dignity and uprightness were praised by certain men, Alexander replied that he seemed white on the outside, but if he was looked into deeply, he was all purple. Nevertheless he concealed his suspicion and showed no clearer indication of an alienated feeling. Yet very many believed that Antipater, thinking that he was summoned for punishment, was responsible by disloyal plots for the death of the king, which followed shortly afterward.*

Meanwhile the king, in order to patch up the losses in his diminished army, mustered all the best of the Persians into the ranks of the Macedonians[c]*; he also set aside a thousand of the most distinguished for a body-guard; another troop of spearmen, not fewer than 10,000, he ordered to keep watch by night at the royal quarters. As he was doing this, Peucestes appeared with 20,000 archers*

bus sagittariorum funditorumque, quos ex sua provincia coegerat. His per exercitum distributis, profectus est Susis et, Pasitigri amne traiecto, apud Caras castra metatus est. Inde, quadriduo per Sittacenen ductis copiis, Sambana processit ibique per septem dies substitit. Tridui deinde itinere emenso, Celonas perventum est. Oppidum hoc tenent Boeotia profecti, quos Xerxes ex sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit; servabantque argumentum originis peculiarem sermonem ex Graecis plerumque vocibus constantem, ceterum propter commercii necessitatem finitimorum barbarorum lingua utebantur. Inde in Bagistanen ingressus est, regionem opulentam et abundantem arborum amoeno et fecundo fetu ceterisque ad vitae non usum modo, verum etiam delectationem pertinentibus.

Gravis inter haec Eumeni cum Hephaestione simultas inciderat. Nam servos Eumenis e deversorio quod pro domino suo occupaverant, Hephaestio proturbavit, ut Euius libicen eo reciperetur. Neque multo post, cum iam sopita odia viderentur, nova orta contentione, adeo recruduerunt, ut etiam in atrox iurgium et acerba utrimque convicia prorumperent. Sed Alexandri intercessione imperioque inimicitiae saltem in speciem abolitae sunt, cum ille Hephaestioni etiam minatus esset, qui in summa regis gratia Eumenem quamvis cupidum reconciliationis pertinacius aversabatur.

Perventum deinde est in Mediae campos, ubi maximi equorum greges alebantur; Nisaeos appellant, magnitudine et specie insignes. Plus quinquaginta milia ibi reperta

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[a] Egypt; see iv. 8. 4.
[b] Really the Eulaeus; *cf.* v. 3. 1.
[c] See Amm. xxiii. 6. 30, note.

and slingers which he had mustered from his own province.[a] *When these had been distributed through the army, the king set out from Susa, and, having crossed the Pasitigris*[b] *River, measured off a camp at Carae. Then, having led his forces for four days through Sittacenê, he advanced to Sambana, and remained there for seven days. Then, after making a march of three days, he arrived at Celonae. This town is occupied by people from Boeotia, whom Xerxes drove from their homes and transferred to the Orient; and they retained as a proof of their origin a language of their own, consisting for the most part of Greek words, but because of the necessity of commerce they used the speech of the neighbouring barbarians. Then he entered Bagistanê, a rich region, abounding in a handsome and prolific growth of trees, and in other things which contribute not only to the necessities, but also to the enjoyment of life.*

Meanwhile a serious quarrel had arisen between Eumenes and Hephaestion. For Hephaestion had evicted Eumenes' slaves from the lodging of which they had taken possession for their master, in order that Evius, a flute-player, might be put up in it. And not long afterwards, when their hatred seemed to be already put to sleep, through a new cause of strife that arose it revived to such an extent that they even broke out into a dreadful wrangle and bitter abuse of each other. But by the intervention of Alexander and at his command their enmity was ended, at least in appearance, after he had even threatened Hephaestion, who, since he enjoyed the king's greatest favour, persistently repulsed Eumenes, although the latter was desirous of a reconciliation.

Then they came to the plains of Media, where very great herds of horses were bred; they call them Nisaean and they are conspicuous for their size and beauty.[c] *More*

esse, cum Alexander eo transiret, a comitibus eius annotatum est; olim triplicem numerum fuisse, sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones abegisse. Ad triginta dies ibi substitit rex. Eo Atropates, Mediae satrapes, centum barbaras mulieres adduxit equitandi peritas peltisque et securibus armatas; unde quidam crediderunt Amazonum ex gente reliquias fuisse. Septimis deinde castris Ecbatana, Mediae caput, pervenit. Ibi sollemnia dis sacrificia fecit ludosque edidit et conviviis festisque diebus laxavit animum, ut ad nova opera validior esset.

Sed ista volventem, velut iniecta manu, Fatum alio traxit vitamque carissimo amicorum eius neque multo post ipsi quoque regi eripuit. Pueros in stadio certantes spectabat, cum nuntiatum est deficere Hephaestionem, qui ex crapula septimum iam diem aeger cubabat. Exterritus amici periculo statim surrexit et ad hospitium eius celeriter se contulit. Neque tamen prius eo pervenit, quam illum mors occupavit. Id regi omnium quae in vita pertulerat adversorum luctuosissimum accidisse certum habetur, eumque magnitudine doloris in lacrimas et lamenta victum, multa animi de gradu deiecti argumenta edidisse. Sed ea quidem varie traduntur; illud inter omnes constat, Alexandrum, ut quam decentissimas exsequias ei duceret, noluisse Ecbatanis eum sepeliri, sed Babylonem quo ipse profecturus esset a

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[a] Diod. xvii. 110. 6; Arr. vii. 13. 1.
[b] Arr. vii. 14. 1.
[c] Arr. *l.c.*
[d] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 14. 1-3.
[e] Plut. *Alex.* lxxii. 2; Arr. vii. 14; Diod. xvii. 110. 8.

than 50,000 were found there when Alexander crossed into that country, as was noted by his companions ; that formerly there had been three times that number, but amid the confusion of the wars brigands had driven off the greatest part of them. There the king halted for about thirty days.[a] *Thither Atropates, satrap of Media, brought a hundred barbarian women*[b] *skilled in horsemanship and armed with round shields and axes ; this equipment led some to believe that they were survivors of the race of the Amazons. Then in seven days he came to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods,*[c] *exhibited games, and relaxed his mind with banquets and festal days, in order to be stronger for new tasks.*

But as he was meditating on these tasks, Fate, as if laying her hand upon him, drew him elsewhere and snatched away the life of the dearest of his friends, and not long afterwards of the king himself. He was viewing the boys contesting in the stadium[d] *when it was announced that Hephaestion was failing ; he had already been sick abed for seven days from over-indulgence in wine. Alarmed by the danger of his friend, the king at once rose from his seat and quickly went to Hephaestion's lodging. Yet he did not reach there before death had anticipated him. This is certainly regarded as the most grievous of all the losses which Alexander had suffered in his whole lifetime,*[e] *and that he was so overcome by the greatness of his sorrow as to burst into tears and lamentations gave strong proof of a loss of his usual spirit. But there are various reports of his conduct ; this much is agreed by all, that Alexander, in order to give his friend the most splendid obsequies, did not wish him to be buried at Ecbatana, but to be taken by Perdiccas to Babylon, to which place he himself was on the point of*

Perdicca deferri ; ibique funus inaudito exemplo duodecim milibus talentum locavisse. Per universum certe imperium lugeri eum iussit et, ne memoria eius in exercitu exolesceret, equitibus quibus praefuerat nullum praefecit ducem, sed Hephaestionis alam appellari voluit et quae ille signa instituisset, ea non immutari. Funebria certamina ludosque, quales numquam editi fuissent, meditatus, tria milia artificum coegit ; qui non multo post in ipsius exequiis certasse traduntur.

Nec amici tam effuso affectu ad conciliandam eius gratiam segniter usi, certatim repperere per quae memoria defuncti clarior honoratiorque fieret. Eumenes igitur cum se ob simultatem cum Hephaestione in regis indignationem incurrisse sensisset, multis auctor fuit seque et arma sua Hephaestioni consecrandi pecuniasque ad cohonestandum funus large contulit. Hoc exemplum imitati sunt ceteri ; eoque processit assentantium impudentia, ut regi maerore et desiderio defuncti insanienti persuasum tandem sit, deum esse Hephaestionem.

Quo quidem tempore ex copiarum ducibus Agathocles Samius in extremum periculum venit, quod eius tumulum praeteriens illacrimasse visus est. Ac nisi Perdiccas venanti sibi Hephaestionem apparuisse ementitus per deos omnes ipsumque Hephaestionem deierasset ex ipso se cognovisse, Agathoclem non ut mortuum et vanae divinitatis titulis frustra ornatum flevisse, verum propter memoriam

[a] He was general of the Companion cavalry, Arr. vii. 14. 10.

[b] Arr. vii. 14. 10 says that an image modelled on Hephaestion was carried before it.

going ; and that there he had arranged for a funeral of unheard-of splendour at a cost of 12,000 talents. Certain it is that he gave orders for Hephaestion to be mourned throughout the whole empire, and in order that his memory might not be lost in the army, Alexander appointed no leader of the cavalry which he had commanded,[a] *but wished it to be called the troop of Hephaestion, and that the standards that he had established there should not be changed.*[b] *The king planned funereal contests and games such as had never been given before, and brought together 3000 artists; and these not long after are said to have competed at Alexander's own funeral.*

The king's friends also, not lacking in zeal to win his favour by such lavish demonstrations of sympathy, vied with one another in devising means of making the memory of the deceased more glorious and more honoured. Accordingly Eumenes, since he felt that he had incurred the king's indignation because of his quarrel with Hephaestion, induced many men to consecrate themselves and their arms to Hephaestion and he himself contributed generously to join in honouring his funeral. The rest followed this example, and their shameless flattery went so far that the king, insane with grief and longing for his dead friend, was at last persuaded that Hephaestion was a god.

At that time, indeed, among the leaders of the forces Agathocles the Samian fell into extreme danger because when passing the tomb of Hephaestion he was seen to have wept over him. And had not Perdiccas falsely said that while he was hunting Hephaestion had appeared to him, and had he not sworn by all the gods and by Hephaestion himself that he had learned from him that Agathocles had not wept as over a dead mortal who had vainly been honoured with the title of divinity, but that it was because

pristinae sodalitatis lacrimas non tenuisse, vir fortis et de rege bene meritus pietatis in amicum graves poenas innoxius pependisset.

Ceterum ut paulisper a luctu avocaret animum, in Cossaeorum terram expeditionem suscepit. Iuga Mediae vicina Cossaei tenent, aspera et bellicosa et rapto vivere assueta gens. Ab his Persarum reges annuo tributo pacem redimere solebant, ne in subiectam terram decurrentes latrociniis regionem facerent infestam. Nam vim temptantes Persas facile reppulerant asperitate locorum defensi, in quae se recipiebant, quotiens armis superati erant. Eidem muneribus quotannis placabantur, ut regi Ecbatanis, ubi aestiva solebat agere, Babylonem remigranti tutus per ea loca transitus esset. Hos igitur Alexander, bipartito agmine, aggressus intra quadraginta dies perdomuit. Nam ab ipso rege et Ptolomaeo, qui partem exercitus ducebat, saepe victi, ut captivos suos reciperent permisere se victori.

Ille validas urbes opportunis locis condi iussit, ne abducto exercitu fera gens iugum exueret. Motis inde castris, ut militem expeditione recenti fessum reficeret, lento agmine Babylonem processit. Iamque vix triginta ab urbe stadia aberat, cum Nearchus occurrit, quem per Oceanum et Euphratis ostia Babylonem praemiserat, oravitque ne fata-

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[a] Diod. xvii. 111. 5.; Arr. vii. 15. 1-2.

of the memory of their former comradeship that he had been unable to restrain his tears, a brave man, who had deserved well of the king, although blameless, would have suffered severe punishment because of his affection for his friend.

But in order for a time to call away his mind from grief, the king undertook an expedition into the land of the Cossaei.[a] *They dwell in the mountains near Media, a rude and warlike race, accustomed to live by plunder. From that people the kings of the Persians were wont to purchase peace by an annual tribute, to prevent them from running down into the land below them and infesting it with brigandage. For when the Persians resorted to force they had easily defeated them, defended as they were by the ruggedness of the places in which they took refuge whenever they were overcome by arms. They were also placated by annual gifts, in order that the king on his return to Babylon from Ecbatana, where he regularly spent the summer, might have a safe passage through those lands. These people, then, Alexander attacked with his force in two divisions, and completely subdued them within forty days. For after being often defeated by the king himself and by Ptolemy, who was leading one part of the army, they surrendered to the victor, in order to recover their men who had been made prisoner.*

Alexander gave orders that strong cities be founded in strategic places, for fear that when the army was withdrawn the savage race might throw off the yoke. Then he moved his camp, and in a leisurely march, in order to give rest to the soldiers, who were wearied by the recent campaign, he went on to Babylon. And already he was only thirty stadia distant from the city, when Nearchus, whom he had sent ahead to Babylon by way of the Ocean and the mouths of the Euphrates, met him, and entreated

lem sibi urbem vellet ingredi. Compertum id sibi ex Chaldaeis, qui multarum iam praedictionum eventu artis suae fidem abunde probavissent. Rex fama eorum hominum constantique asseveratione motus, dimissis in urbem amicorum plerisque, alia via praeter Babylonem ducit ac ducenta inde stadia stativa collocat. Sed ab Anaxarcho philosopho edoctus, contemptis Chaldaeorum monitis, quorum disciplinam inanem aut supervacuam arbitrabatur, urbem intrat. Legationes eo ex universo ferme orbe confluxerant. Quibus per complures dies studiose auditis, deinceps ad Hephaestionis exsequias animum advertit. Quae summo omnium studio ita celebratae sunt ut nullius ad id tempus regis feralia magnitudine sumptuum apparatusque celebritate non vicerint.

Post haec cupido incessit regi, per Pallacopam amnem ad Arabum confinia navigandi; quo delatus, urbi condendae commoda sede reperta, Graecorum aetate aut vulneribus invalidos et, si qui sua sponte remanserant, ibi collocat. Quibus ex sententia perfectis, iam futuri securus, Chaldaeos irridebat, quod Babylonem non ingressus tantum esset incolumis, verum etiam excessisset. Verum enimvero revertenti per paludes, quas Euphrates in Pallacopam effusus efficit, foedum omen oblatum est. Quippe rami desuper impendentes detractum capiti regis diadema proiecerunt in fluctus. Cum deinde alia atque alia prodigia

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[a] So also Diod. xvii. 112. 4; Arr. vii. 16. 5 says that the warning came directly from the Chaldeans.

[b] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 15. 4: Diod. xvii. 113. 1 ff., who give fuller details.

[c] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 22. 1.

[d] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 21. 1-7, who tells us that it was a canal from the Euphrates and not a river.

him not to think of entering the city, which was destined to be fatal to him. He said that he had learned this from the Chaldeans, who had already abundantly proved the credibility of their art by the result of many predictions.[a] *The king, influenced by the reputation of the Chaldeans and by their persistent assertion, having sent many of his friends to the city, led the army by another road past Babylon and pitched a permanent camp 200 stadia from the city. But, advised by the philosopher Anaxarchus, he scorned the warnings of the Chaldeans, whose teachings he thought false or superfluous, and entered the city. Thither deputations from almost the whole world* [b] *had flocked together. After giving attentive audience to these for several days, he then turned his thoughts to the obsequies of Hephaestion. These were celebrated with such great and general devotion that there was no king up to that time whose funeral rites they did not surpass in the greatness of their cost and the magnificence of their equipment.*

After this a longing seized the king to sail over the river Pallacopas to the lands of the Arabians; having arrived there and having discovered a suitable site for founding a city, he settled in it those of the Greeks who were disabled by age or by wounds, as well as any who had remained behind of their own volition. When these things had been finished to his satisfaction, now at ease about the future, he laughed at the Chaldeans because he had not only entered Babylon but also had left it unharmed.[c] *But in fact, as he was returning through the marshes which the Euphrates makes by pouring into the Pallacopas,*[d] *a direful omen was offered. For some overhanging branches dragged the diadem from the king's head and cast it into the river. When after this prodigies were announced one after the other, continual sacrifices were*

nuntiarentur, procurandis eis Graeco simul barbaroque ritu continua sacra facta sunt.

Neque tamen expiari nisi morte regis potuere. Qui cum Nearchum excepisset convivio iamque cubitum iturus esset, Medii Larisaei obnixis precibus dedit, ut ad eum comissatum veniret. Ubi postquam tota nocte perpotavit, male habere coepit. Ingravescens deinde morbus adeo omnes vires intra sextum diem exhausit, ut ne vocis quidem potestas esset. Interea milites sollicitudine desiderioque eius anxii, quamvis admonentibus ducibus ne valetudinem regis onerarent, expresserunt ut in conspectum eius admitterentur.

V. Intuentibus lacrimae obortae praebuere speciem iam non regem, sed funus eius visentis exercitus ; 2 maeror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat. Quos ut rex aspexit[1] : " Invenietis," inquit, " cum 3 excessero, dignum talibus viris regem ? " Incredibile dictu adituque, in eodem habitu corporis in quem se composuerat cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est. Dimissoque vulgo, velut omni vitae debito 4 liberatus, fatigata membra reiecit, propiusque assidere[2] iussis amicis—nam et vox deficere iam coeperat—detractum anulum digito Perdiccae tradidit, adiectis mandatis ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri iuberent.

5 Quaerentibusque his cui relinqueret regnum, respondit,[3] ei qui esset optimus ; ceterum providere[4]

[1] rex aspexit] respexit *A*. [2] adsidere *Hedicke;* adire *A*.
[3] respondit *Lauer;* respondet *A*.
[4] providere *Modius;* prouide *A*.

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[a] *Cf.* Arr. vii. 24. 4 ; 25. 1 ff.
[b] *Cf.* Justin xii. 15 ; Diod. xvii. 117. 3.
[c] Arr. vii. 26. 3 and Diod. xvii. 117. 4 have τῷ κρατίστῳ.

offered to avert them, at the same time by Greek and by barbarian rites.

Nevertheless they could not be expiated except by the king's death. And when he had entertained Nearchus with a banquet and he was already about to go to bed, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of Medius of Larissa[a] *that he would come to him for a drinking-bout. After he had drunk deeply there all night, he began to feel ill. Then his illness grew so much worse that within six days it had so exhausted all his strength that he could not even speak. Meanwhile the troops, overcome by anxiety and longing to see him, although their leaders warned them not to burden the king in his illness, extorted permission to be admitted to his presence.*

V. As they gazed at him, their rising tears gave the impression no longer of an army looking upon its
2 king, but of one attending his funeral; yet the grief of those who stood about his couch was still greater. When the king saw them he said: "After I am gone
3 will you find a king worthy of such men?" Incredible to tell and to hear of, he continued to hold his body in the same attitude in which he had composed himself when he was about to admit the soldiers, until he had been saluted by the whole army for that last time. And having dismissed the common throng, as if he had discharged every debt to life, he threw
4 back his exhausted frame, and after bidding his friends to seat themselves—for his voice too had already begun to give out—he drew his ring from his finger[b] and handed it to Perdiccas, adding instructions that they should order his body to be taken to Ammon.
5 When they asked to whom he left his kingdom, he replied, to him who was the best man,[c] but that he

iam se, ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari
6 sibi. Rursus Perdicca interrogante quando caelestes honores haberi sibi vellet, dixit tum velle cum ipsi felices essent. Suprema haec vox fuit regis, et paulo post exstinguitur.
7 Ac primo, ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat; mox, velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes
8 quid deinde futurum esset dolore converso. Nobiles pueri custodiae corporis eius assueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere nec se[1] ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt. Vagique et furentibus similes tantam urbem luctu ac maerore compleverant, nullis questibus omissis, quos in tali casu dolor suggerit;
9 ergo, qui extra regiam astiterant, Macedones pariter barbarique, concurrunt. Nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni; Persae iustissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes, certamen quoddam maeroris edebant.
10 Nec maestorum solum, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in flore aetatis fortunaeque invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor eius et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, evadentis in muros, fortes
11 viros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis. Tum Macedones divinos honores negasse ei paenitebat,

[1] capere nec se *Freinshem;* canecse *B m. pr., corr. in marg.* carere; canecse *L m. pr., corr. in marg.* canere; carere nece *F m. pr.;* carere nesce *F corr.;* carere *V.*

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[a] May 22 or 24, 323.
[b] *Cf.* viii. 2. 5. [c] See v. 1. 42.

already foresaw that because of that contest great
6 funeral games were in preparation for him. Again, when Perdiccas asked when he wished divine honours to be paid to him, he said that he wished it at the time when they themselves were happy. These were the king's last words, and shortly afterwards he died.[a]

7 And at first the whole royal quarters rang[b] with wailing, lamentation, and beating of breasts; presently, as if in a desert waste, everything was mute and torpid, since grief was changed to thoughts of
8 what would happen next. The high-born boys who were his regular body-guard[c] could neither contain the greatness of their grief nor keep themselves within the vestibule of the royal quarters. Wandering about and as if crazed, they had filled that city, great as it was, with grief and sorrow, omitting no plaints which sorrow suggests in such a disaster;
9 therefore those who had stood without the royal quarters, Macedonians and foreigners alike, rushed together. And in their common sorrow the vanquished could not be distinguished from the victors; the Persians, calling upon a most just and mild lord, the Macedonians upon the best and bravest of kings, exhibited, as it were, a contest in mourning.

10 And not only words of sorrow were heard, but also of indignation, that through the envy of the gods a man so vigorous and in the flower of his youth and his fortune had been torn from mankind. His vigour and his aspect as he led his soldiers to battle, besieged cities, scaled walls, and rewarded brave men before the assembled army, were before their minds' eye.
11 Then the Macedonians repented of having denied him divine honours, and they confessed that they had been

impiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures eius debita appellatione fraudassent. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. Macedonia profecti ultra Euphraten in[1] mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant; sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum.

Bella deinde civilia quae secuta sunt mentibus augurabantur; iterum non de regno Asiae, sed de rege ipsorum[2] ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum, novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices; senes, debiles, modo petita missione a iusto[3] rege, nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicuius ignobilis. Has cogitationes volventibus nox supervenit terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii, alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant, quasi certiora visuri. Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere et, quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant ac plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas, aliis alii occursantes, invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur.

Persae, comis suo[4] more detonsis, in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis, non ut victorem et modo hostem,[5] sed ut gentis suae iustissimum regem vero

[1] in *added by Zumpt.*
[2] ipsorum *added by Warmington.*
[3] a iusto *B m. sec.;* iusto *A.*
[4] comis suo *J. M. Palmer;* commisso *A.*
[5] ut (*before* hostem) *deleted by Vindelinus.*

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[a] *Cf.* viii. 12. 9. [b] *Cf.* vi. 8. 19.
[c] *i.e.* in time of mourning.

impious and ungrateful in having cheated his ears of the title due him. And after they had continued for a long time, now in veneration, now in longing for the king, their pity was diverted to themselves.
12 Having left Macedonia, they saw themselves abandoned beyond the Euphrates and in the midst of foes dissatisfied with the new rule; without a sure heir to their king, without an heir to the throne, each man would be trying to draw the public forces[a] into his own power.
13 Then they foresaw the civil wars that followed. Again they would have to pour out their blood, old scars must be broken by new wounds; not to gain the rule of Asia, but to appoint a king to reign
14 over themselves. Aged and infirm, they who had recently asked their discharge from a legitimate king would now die perhaps in defence of the power of
15 some obscure subordinate.[b] As they were turning over such thoughts in their minds, night came on and increased their alarm. The soldiers kept vigil under arms, the Babylonians, some from the walls, others from the roof of their own houses, were each looking out as if to get more certain information.
16 And none dared to light their lamps, but because they could not use their eyes, they caught with their ears the noise and outcries, and often terrified by unfounded fear, they ran through the dark streets, and as they met one another were in turn suspected and apprehensive.
17 The Persians, having shaved their hair according to custom,[c] in mourning garb with their wives and children grieved for the king, not as their conqueror and recently their enemy, but with genuine longing as their own nation's most just ruler, and used as

desiderio lugebant, ac sueti sub rege vivere, non alium qui imperaret ipsis digniorem fuisse confitebantur.
18 Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem Asiae
19 cis Euphraten tanti mali fama pervaserat. Ad Darei quoque matrem celeriter perlata est; abscissa ergo veste quam induta erat lugubrem sumpsit, laceratis-
20 que crinibus, humi corpus abiecit. Assidebat ei altera ex neptibus[1] nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens, propriasque causas doloris in
21 communi maestitia retractabat.[2] Sed omnium suorum mala Sisigambis una capiebat; illa suam, illa neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse du-
22 cendas. Flebat simul mortuos vivosque. Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regnum.[3] Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur repperisse, qui post Alexandrum respiceret utique non reperturas.
23 Subibat inter haec animum LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho, saevissimo regum, trucidatos adiectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem, e septem liberis quos genuisset ipsa unum superesse, ipsum Dareum flo-
24 ruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset exstingui. Ad

[1] neptibus *Lauer;* nepotibus *A.*
[2] retractabat *Freinshem;* retractabant *A.*
[3] regnum *P m. pr.;* regno *CP m. sec.*

[a] For *proximam ab* (next, reckoning from) *cf.* vi. 11. 28; Suet. *Aug.* 31. 5; etc. [b] *Cf.* Justin xiii. 1.
[c] Arr. vii. 4. 4 and Diod. xvii. 107. 6 give her name as Drypetis.
[d] See Justin x. 3. 1; Val. Max. ix. 2, ext. 7.
[e] See iii. 11. 8.

they were to live under a king, they confessed that none other had been more worthy to rule them.

18 And their grief was not confined within the walls of the city, but the report of so great a disaster had spread through the region nearest to[a] Babylon and then through a great part of Asia on the hither side
19 of the Euphrates. The news was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius; she, rending the garments which she wore, put on mourning garb and, tearing her hair, threw herself on the ground.[b]
20 Beside her sat one of her granddaughters, mourning for the recent loss of Hephaestion, whom she had married,[c] and in the general sorrow was renewing her
21 own reasons for grief. But Sisigambis alone felt the misfortune that had befallen all her family; she wept for her own loss and for that of her granddaughters. This recent grief too had revived the sorrows of the past. You might think that she had just lost Darius, and that the unhappy woman had to perform the funeral rites of two sons; she wept at
22 once for the dead and for the living. For who would have a care for her girls? Who would be a second Alexander? Again they were taken prisoner, again they had lost royal rank. After the death of Darius they had found someone to protect them, but after Alexander they assuredly would find none to do so.[d]

23 Amid these thoughts it entered her mind that her eighty brothers had been killed on one and the same day by Ochus,[d] most savage of kings, and that their father had been added to the slaughter of so many sons, and that of the seven children that she herself had borne only one[e] was left. Even Darius had flourished for a time, only that he might meet a more

ultimum dolori succubuit, obvolutoque capite, accidentis genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata, cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. Quinto postquam mori
25 statuerat die exstincta est. Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam, iustitiaeque in omnes captivos, documentum est mors huius; quae cum sustinuisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit.

26 Et, hercule, iuste aestimantibus regem, liquet bona
27 naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. Vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed
28 inter illos quoque quorum haec sola virtus fuit, liberalitas saepe maiora tribuens[1] quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos, tot regna aut reddita quibus
29 ademerat[2] bello aut dono data, mortis cuius metus ceteros exanimat perpetua contemptio, gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita in iuvene[3] et in tantis
30 neglegenda[4] rebus, iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat,
31 Philippum ultus erat, iam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benevolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi et, quantam vix poterat aetas eius
32 capere, sollertia, modus[5] inmodicarum cupiditatum, veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla

[1] tribuens *Bentley;* tribuentis *A*.
[2] ademerat *Bentley;* eadem erat *P;* eademserat *C*.
[3] in iuvene *Jeep;* ut iuueni *A*.
[4] neglegenda *Hedicke;* nec amittenda *A*.
[5] modus *Lauer;* modum *A*.

[a] For a general characterization of Alexander see Arr. xvii. 28-30.

24 cruel death. At last she gave way to grief and veiling her head and turning away from her granddaughter and her grandson, who fell at her knees, she at the same time abstained from food and shunned the light of day. The fifth day after she
25 had resolved to die, she passed away. Surely her death is a strong testimony to Alexander's indulgence towards her and to his just treatment of all the captives ; for she who had had the fortitude to live after Darius was ashamed to survive Alexander.
26 And, by Heaven! to those who judge the king[a] fairly it is clear that his good qualities were natural,
27 his faults due to his fortune or to his youth. He possessed incredible strength of mind, an endurance of toil which was almost excessive, a courage excelling not only among kings but among those whose sole
28 merit it is, a generosity that often bestowed greater gifts than are asked of gods in prayer, clemency towards the vanquished, shown either by returning so many kingdoms to those from whom he had taken
29 them in war or by giving them as gifts, a constant contempt of death, the fear of which appals the rest of mankind, a desire for glory and renown which, although it was greater than was proper, yet was to be overlooked in a young man who had done such
30 glorious deeds ; also his devotion to his parents, of whom he had decided to consecrate Olympias among
31 the immortals and had avenged Philip, his kindness to almost all his friends, his goodwill to his soldiers,
32 his wisdom equal to the greatness of his spirit, and a keenness of judgement of which one of his years could hardly have been capable, a restraint of immoderate desires, the indulgence of passion only within natural requirements, and to have enjoyed

nisi ex permisso voluptas, ingenii[1] profecto dotes erant.

33 Illa fortunae : dis aequare se et caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius, quam par esset, irasci, in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum, imitari devictarum gentium mores, quos[2] ante
34 victoriam spreverat. Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa irritaverat, ita senectus mitigare
35 potuisset. Fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse Fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revocavit ! quotiens temere in pericula
36 vectum perpetua felicitate protexit ! Vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit ; exspectavere eum Fata, dum, Oriente perdomito aditoque Oceano, quidquid mortalitas capiebat impleret.

37 Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur, sed maior moles erat quam ut unus subire eam posset ; itaque nomen quoque eius et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit ; clarissimique sunt habiti qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt.

VI. Ceterum Babylone—inde enim devertit oratio —corporis eius custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque copiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba cupientium scire in quem Alexandri fortuna

[1] ingenii *Acidalius;* ingentes A. [2] quos *I;* quas *A.*

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 6. 20 ; Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 3. 4.
[b] *Cf.* Livy ix. 18. 4 ; Justin ix. 8.
[c] In a different sense of Cato Uticensis in Vell. ii. 35. 2.
[d] At x. 5. 18.

no pleasures except such as were lawful, were certainly gifts of his own nature.[a]

33 The following qualities were attributable to his fortune: to equal himself with the gods and to aspire to divine honours, to trust to oracles which advised such conduct, and to be more angry than was fitting with those who refused to venerate him, to change his attire to that of foreign nations, to imitate those customs of the conquered[b] races which he had scorned
34 before his victory. As for his hot temper and his love of wine, just as these were intensified by youth,
35 greater age might have moderated them. Yet it must be confessed that although he owed much to his own merit, yet he owed still more to Fortune, over whom he alone of all mortals had control.[c] How often did she save him from death! How often, when rashness brought him into danger, did she protect
36 him by perpetual good luck! She likewise fixed the same end for his life and for his glory; the Fates waited for him until, having thoroughly subdued the Orient, and having reached the Ocean, he fulfilled every task of which mortality was capable.

37 This was the king and leader for whom a successor was sought, but the burden was too great for the shoulders of one man; hence even his name and the fame of his exploits spread kings and kingdoms throughout almost the whole world, and those were considered most glorious who had retained even the least part of so great a fortune.

VI. But in Babylon—for it was from there that I made a digression[d]—his body-guards called to the royal quarters the chief of the king's friends and the leaders of his forces. A throng of soldiers followed, eager to know to whom the fortune of Alexander

esset transitura. Multi duces, frequentia militum exclusi, regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis qui nominatim citarentur adire prohiberet. Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac[1] primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est, deinde futuri exspectatio, inhibitis lacrimis, silentium fecit. Tunc Perdicca, regia sella in conspectum volgi data, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, anulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit.

Quorum aspectu rursus obortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum, et Perdicca: "Ego quidem," inquit, "anulum quo ille regni atque imperii res[2] obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi, reddo vobis. Ceterum quamquam nulla clades huic qua affecti sumus par ab iratis dis excogitari potest, tamen magnitudinem rerum quas egit intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos accommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa, cito repeterent eum suae stirpi. Proinde quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur, corpori utique[3] quam primum iusta solvamus, haud obliti in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati. Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque,[4] ut victoriam partam inter hos de quibus

[1] Ac *Lauer;* ad *A*.
[2] res *Scheffer;* uires *A* (*cf. x. 5. 12*).
[3] utique *Hedicke;* nominique *A*.
[4] cogitandumque *Vindelinus;* cogitantumque *A* (cogitatumque *V*).

[a] *Cf.* iii. 8. 2; viii. 12. 9.
[b] *i.e.* the physical body.

2 would pass. Many generals, shut out by the great number of soldiers, had been unable to enter the royal quarters, since a herald forbade access except to those who had been summoned by name. But this order,
3 being of uncertain origin, was disregarded. And first of all the great wailing and lamentation was renewed, then expectation of what was coming checked their
4 tears and caused silence. Then Perdiccas, having put in view of the public the royal throne, on which were the diadem and the robe of Alexander together with his arms, placed on the same throne the ring which had been handed to him the day before by the king.

At the sight of these the whole assembly again burst into tears and renewed the mourning, and Per-
5 diccas said: "For my part, I return to you the ring handed to me by the late king himself, with which he was wont to seal the documents pertaining to his
6 kingdom and his power.[a] Furthermore, although no calamity equal to this which has befallen us can be devised by the angry gods, yet those who consider the greatness of what he accomplished may well believe that so great a man was merely loaned to mankind by the gods, in order that, when his allotted service to humanity was completed, they might quickly take
7 him back into their own family. Therefore, since nothing else is left of him except what is always separated from immortality,[b] let us pay as soon as possible the rites due to his body at least, not forgetting in what city and among whom we are, and of what a chief and what a king we have been
8 despoiled. We must therefore, fellow-soldiers, give attention and consider how we may secure the victory which he has won among those from whom it was

parta est obtinere possimus. Capite opus est; hoc nominare[1] in vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu.
9 Sextus mensis est ex quo Roxane praegnans est; optamus, ut marem enitatur, cuius regnum dis approbantibus sit[2] futurum, quandoque adoleverit. Interim a quibus regi velitis destinate." Haec Perdicca.
10 Tum Nearchus Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae maiestati convenire, neminem ait posse
11 infitiari,[3] ceterum exspectari nondum ortum regem, et qui iam sit praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire nec tempori eorum.[4] Esse e Barsine[5] filium
12 regis; huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio; itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere perseverabant. Iamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant, Nearcho pervicacius tuente sententiam,
13 cum[6] Ptolomaeus: "Digna prorsus est suboles," inquit, "quae Macedonum imperet genti Roxanes vel Barsines filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam
14 discere[7] pigebit maiore ex parte captivi! Est cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus, quod iusti illi reges, Dareus et Xerxes, tot milium agmini-
15 bus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt? Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius adhibebantur, coeant quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque quod maior pars

[1] hoc nominare *Bentley;* hocine uno an *A.*
[2] sit *added by Hedicke.* [3] infitiari *Bentley;* mirari *A.*
[4] eorum *Hedicke;* rerum *A.*
[5] e Barsine *J. Froben;* abarsine *A.*
[6] cum *Hedicke;* tum *A.* [7] discere *Heinse;* dicere *A.*

[a] See Justin xiii. 2. Referring to the daughter of Artabazus, and not to the elder daughter of Darius, whose name was really Statira; see Arr. vii. 4. 6.

won. We have need of a head ; to name one is in your power. One thing you must know, that a throng of soldiers without a leader is a body without
9 a soul. It is five months from the time when Roxanê became with child ; we pray that she may bear a son, who shall rule over us with the gods' approval, when he comes of age. Determine by what men you wish to be ruled in the meantime." Thus spoke Perdiccas.
10 Then Nearchus said that no one could deny that only the blood and stock of Alexander was suited to
11 royal majesty, but that to wait for a king who was not yet born, and to pass over one who was already living, suited neither the desires of the Macedonians nor their exigencies ; that the king had a son by Barsinê [a] ; he ought to be presented with the crown.
12 His speech was approved by no one ; and so, clashing their shields with their spears after their custom, they persisted in uproar. And already, as Nearchus maintained his opinion too persistently, they had almost reached the point of mutiny, when Ptolemy
13 said : " Truly a most worthy stock to rule the race of the Macedonians is the son of Roxanê or Barsinê, whose very name Europe will be ashamed to hear, since it is that of one who is in greater part a captive.
14 Is that why we have conquered the Persians, that we may serve their stock, a thing which those legitimate kings, Darius and Xerxes, sought in vain with armies of so many thousands and such great fleets ?
15 My advice is this, that the throne of Alexander be set up in the royal quarters, and that those who were summoned to his counsels should come together whenever there shall be need of general consultation, and that what the majority of them shall decide shall

eorum decreverit stetur, duces praefectique copiarum his pareant."

16 Ptolomaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae assentiebantur. Tum Aristonus orsus est dicere, Alexandrum consultum cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi; iudicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam
17 cui anulum tradidisset. Neque enim unum eum assedisse morienti, sed circumferentem[1] oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse cui traderet. Placere igi-
18 tur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri. Nec dubitare quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere iubebant. Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque et, quo modestius quod spectabat[2] appeteret, per-
19 vicacius oblaturos esse credebat; itaque cunctatus diuque quid ageret incertus ad ultimum tamen recessit et post eos qui sedi erant[3] proximi constitit.

20 At Meleager, unus e ducibus, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio erexerat: "Nec di sierint," inquit, "ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat; homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus, quam hic est, sed de viris
21 tantum, quibus invitis, nihil perpeti necesse est. Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccan regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelae specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex

[1] circumferentem *Giunta;* circumferenti *A.*
[2] spectabat *Hedicke;* expectabat *A.*
[3] sedi erant *Kinch;* sederant *A.*

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[a] See Livy vii. 35. 2; xxvii. 6. 9. [b] See ix. 5. 15.
[c] But *cf.* x. 7. 8, of Perdiccas and Leonnatus.

stand approved,[a] and that the generals and commanders of troops shall obey those men."

16 Some agreed with Ptolemy, fewer with Perdiccas. Then Aristonus[b] began to speak, saying that Alexander, when he was asked to whom he left his kingdom, wished the best man to be chosen; moreover, he had himself judged that Perdiccas, to whom he
17 had handed his ring, was the best man. For he was not the only one who sat by Alexander when he was dying, but, the king, looking about, had chosen him from his throng of friends to give it to. Therefore it was Alexander's wish that the supreme power
18 should be bestowed upon Perdiccas. And there was no doubt that Aristonus' opinion was the truth. Therefore all bade Perdiccas to come forward and take up the king's ring. He wavered between inclination and shame, and believed that the more modestly he sought what he coveted the more persistently they
19 would press it upon him. So, after delaying and being for a long time uncertain what to do, he finally retired to the back part of the assembly, and stood behind those who were nearest to the throne.

20 But Meleager, one of the generals, taking the courage which the hesitation of Perdiccas had aroused, said: "May the gods themselves not permit that the fortune of Alexander and the burden of so great a kingdom should fall upon such shoulders; certainly men will not allow it. I say nothing of those of nobler birth[c] than this fellow, but only of brave men, who need to endure nothing against their
21 will. And truly it makes no difference whether you have for king the son of Roxanê, whenever he shall be born, or Perdiccas, since that fellow will usurp the royal power under the guise of regency.

placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, et in tanta omnium festinatione non iusta modo, sed etiam necessaria, exactos menses solus exspectat et iam divinat marem esse conceptum. Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse
22 vel subdere? Si, me dius fidius, Alexander hunc nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex eis[1] quae
23 imperasset non faciendum esse censerem. Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres."
24 Haec elocutus, per medios armatos erupit, et qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad pronuntiatam[2] praedam sequebantur.

VII. Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat, in seditionem ac discordiam versa contione,[3] cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infima plebe: "Quid opus est," inquit, "armis civilique bello habentibus regem quem quaeritis?
2 Arrhidaeus, Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritur a vobis. Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quaeritis, num-
3 quam reperietis; si proximum, hic solus est." His auditis, contio primo silentium velut iussa habuit, conclamant deinde pariter Arrhidaeum vocandum[4]

[1] iis *Vindelinus;* his *A.*
[2] pronuntiatam *Freinshem;* praenuntiantem *A.*
[3] contione *Vindelinus;* contio *A.*
[4] vocandum *Aldus;* uocatum *A.*

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[a] *i.e.* to choose a king.
[b] Thirty, according to x. 9. 18.
[c] See Plut. *Alex.* lxxvii. 5.
[d] That is, of the royal family, rather than the people in general.

That is why no king pleases him except one who is not yet born, and amid the great haste [a] of all, which is not only reasonable but even necessary, he alone waits for the completion of months, and already divines that a male child has been conceived. And could you doubt that he is even ready to suborn one ?
22 If, by the God of Faith ! Alexander had left this man to be king in his place, that would be the only one of his commands that I should think ought not
23 to be obeyed. Why then do you not run to plunder the treasures ? for surely the people alone are the
24 heirs to these riches of the king." Having said this, he burst through the midst of the armed men, and those who had made way for him when he left followed him to the booty which had been proclaimed.

VII. And already there was a large body of armed men [b] around Meleager, and the assembly was on its way to sedition and discord, when a man unknown to most of the Macedonians, one of the lowest of the common people, said : " What need is there of arms and civil war, when you have the king whom you
2 seek ? Arrhidaeus,[c] son of Philip, brother of Alexander, who was shortly before king, recently his associate in sacrifices and ceremonies,[d] and now his sole heir, is passed over by you. Why has he deserved this ? Or what has he done to be cheated even of the common law of nations ? [e] If you seek a king like Alexander, you will never find one ; if one next in blood, Arrhidaeus is the only choice."
3 After hearing these words the assembly at first kept silence, as if ordered to do so, then they shouted with one voice that Arrhidaeus ought to be summoned,

[e] This was not valid against the children of Roxanê and Statira.

esse mortemque meritos qui contionem sine eo habuissent.

4 Tum Pithon, plenus lacrimarum, orditur dicere, nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et praesentia fraudatus esset. Nomen enim memoriamque regis
5 sui tantum intuentes, ad cetera caligare eos. Haud ambigue tum in eum[1] cui regnum destinabatur, ingessit probra; at[2] quae obiecerat magis ipsi odium quam Arrhidaeo contemptum attulerunt. Quippe
6 dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. Igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros, pertinaci acclamatione declarant
7 vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent. Quem Meleager, infestus invisusque Perdiccae, strenue perducit in regiam: et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant.

8 Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdiccae exsequi coepit tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro
9 Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. Adiecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum iusiurandum a singulis exactum,
10 futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro. Meleager —haud iniuria metu supplicii territus, cum suis[3] secesserat — rursus Philippum trahens secum irrupit regiam, clamitans suffragari spei[4] de novo rege paulo

[1] tum in eum *Hedicke;* iuuenem *A*.
[2] ingessit probra; at *Hedicke;* impensa probra *A*.
[3] suis *Giunta;* his *A*. [4] spei *Hedicke;* rei publicae *A*.

and that those who had held an assembly without him deserved death.

4 Then Pithon,[a] bathed in tears, began to say that now Alexander was more than ever to be pitied, since he had been defrauded of the use and company of such good citizens and soldiers. For having an eye only to the name and the memory of their king, they were
5 blind to all else. Then in plain language he heaped abuse upon the one to whom the throne was being awarded, but his insulting words brought more hatred upon himself than contempt upon Arrhidaeus. For in pitying him the assembly began to favour him.
6 Therefore with persistent acclamation they declared that they would tolerate no other king than one who had been born to such a hope, and they ordered
7 Arrhidaeus to be called. Him Meleager, being hostile to Perdiccas, whom he hated, promptly brought into the royal quarters, and the soldiers hailed him as king under the name of Philippus.

8 But this was the voice of the common people, the opinion of the chief men was different. Of these Pithon began to follow the plan of Perdiccas, and named Perdiccas and Leonnatus, both born of royal stock, as guardians of the son to be born of Roxanê.
9 He added that Craterus and Antipater should have direction of affairs in Europe. Then an oath was exacted of each man that they would submit to a
10 king begotten of Alexander. Meleager—naturally terrified for fear of punishment, he had withdrawn with his partisans—again burst into the royal quarters dragging Philippus with him and crying that his vigorous youth favoured the hope which

[a] One of the seven officers of the body-guard, later increased to eight; *cf.* Arr. vi. 28. 4.

ante conceptae robur aetatis; experirentur modo stirpem Philippi, filium[1] ac fratrem regum duorum; sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent.

11 Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si[2] nova et brevi duratura liber-
12 tate luxuriat.[3] Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plures Philippo quem spreverant[4] imperium dabant. Nec velle nec nolle quicquam diu poterant, paenitebatque modo consilii, modo paenitentiae ipsius. Ad ultimum
13 tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis. Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus, principum auctoritate conterritus, et abeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elanguerat militaris favor; itaque revocatus, vestem fratris, eam ipsam quae in sella posita fuerat induitur.
14 Et Meleager, thorace sumpto, capit arma, novi regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clipeos quatiens, expletura se sanguine illorum qui affectaverant nihil
15 ad ipsos pertinens regnum. In eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant; hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam; assuetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique, nec quemquam id capere nisi genitum ut regnaret.

16 Igitur Perdicca territus, conclave in quo Alexandri corpus iacebat, obserari[5] iubet; DC cum ipso erant

[1] et (*before* filium) *deleted by Hedicke.*
[2] si *Giunta;* etsi *C;* ipsi *P.*
[3] luxuriat *Lauer;* luxuria *A.*
[4] quem spreverant *Acidalius;* quam sperauerant *A.*
[5] obserari *J. M. Palmer;* obseruari *A.*

[a] *Cf.* x. 6. 5.

they had just conceived for the new king; let them only try the offspring of Philip, son and brother to two kings; let them trust their own judgement rather than that of others.

11 No deep sea, no vast and storm-swept ocean rouses such great billows as the emotions of a multitude, especially if it is exulting in a liberty which is new
12 and destined to be short-lived. A few were for giving the power to Perdiccas, who had recently been chosen, more to Philippus, whom they had scorned. But they could not favour nor oppose anything for long, and now repented of their resolution, and now of the very fact of having repented. At last, however, their
13 favour inclined to the royal stock. Arrhidaeus had left the assembly greatly alarmed by the authority of the leading men, and as he went out the favour of the soldiers was rather silenced than diminished; hence, on being recalled he put on the robe of his brother, the very one which had been placed upon
14 the throne. And Meleager, having put on his cuirass, armed himself as an attendant upon the new king. The phalanx followed his example, clashing their spears against their shields as a sign that they would sate themselves with the blood of those who
15 aspired to a rule to which they had no claim. They rejoiced that the strength of the empire[a] would remain in the same house and family; that the inheritance of empire would defend the royal stock; they were accustomed to honour and venerate the name itself, and no one assumed it unless born to rule.

16 Therefore Perdiccas in terror ordered the room in which the body of Alexander was lying to be bolted; he had with him 600 men of tried valour, Ptolemy

spectatae virtutis, Ptolomaeus quoque se adiunxerat
17 ei, puerorumque regia cohors. Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et rex quoque irruperat, stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager ibat; itaque[1] Perdicca hos
18 qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent sevocat. Sed qui[2] irruperant eminus tela in ipsum iaciebant. Multisque vulneratis, tandem seniores, demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, precari eos, qui cum Perdicca erant coepere, ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus
19 cederent. Primus Perdicca arma deposuit, ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, insidiis locum quaeri rati, diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt.
20 Equitatus qui ex nobilissimis iuvenum constabat Perdiccam et Leonnatum frequens sequebatur, place-
21 batque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat; itaque, ne abducendo equites abrupisse a cetero exercitu videretur, in urbe subsistit.

VIII. At Meleager regem monere non destitit, ius imperii Perdiccae morte sanciendum esse; ni[3] occupetur impotens animus, res novaturum. Meminisse eum quid de rege meruisset, neminem autem ei satis
2 fidum esse, quem metuat. Rex patiebatur magis quam assentiebatur; itaque Meleager silentium pro

[1] ibat; itaque *Hedicke;* iratusque *A.*
[2] Sed qui *I;* sequi *C;* sequi qui *P.*
[3] ni *Modius;* ne *A.*

[a] That is, Arrhidaeus, the newly chosen king.

17 also had joined him and the royal band of pages. But the barriers were easily broken through by so many thousands of soldiers. And the king[a] also had rushed in, surrounded by a throng of attendants, of whom
18 Meleager took the lead; accordingly, Perdiccas called aside those who wished to protect the body of Alexander. But those who had broken in were throwing javelins at him at long range. And after many had been wounded, at last the older men, taking off their helmets in order to be more easily recognized, began to entreat those who favoured Perdiccas to cease from war and yield to the king and to superior
19 numbers. Perdiccas was the first to lay down his arms, and the rest followed his example. Then, when Meleager tried to persuade them not to leave the body of Alexander, they, thinking that he was looking for an opportunity for treachery, through another door of the palace took flight in the direction of the
20 Euphrates. The cavalry, which was composed of the noblest of the youth, in great numbers followed Perdiccas and Leonnatus, and advised leaving the
21 city and encamping in the plains. But Perdiccas did not give up hope that even the infantry would follow him; and therefore, for fear that by leading away the horsemen he might seem to have separated from the rest of the army, he remained in the city.

VIII. But Meleager did not cease to warn the king that his right to rule ought to be confirmed by the death of Perdiccas; that if his ambitious spirit were not checked, he would start a revolution. That he remembered what he had deserved of the king, and besides no one was wholly loyal to one whom he
2 feared. The king rather listened to than accepted this advice; accordingly Meleager took his silence

imperio habuit misitque[1] regis nomine qui Perdiccam accerserent. Eisdem mandatum ut occiderent, si
3 venire dubitaret. Perdicca, nuntiato satellitum adventu, sedecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus, in limine domus suae constitit, castigatosque et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans, sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes
4 fugerint. Perdicca pueros[2] equos iussit conscendere et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonnatum pervenit, iam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret.
5 Postera die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum, et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant.[3]
6 Atque ille, seditione provisa, cum regem adisset, interrogare eum coepit, an Perdiccam comprehendi ipse iussisset. Ille Meleagri instinctu se iussisse respondit; ceterum non debere tumultuari eos;
7 Perdiccam enim vivere. Igitur, contione dimissa, Meleager equitum maxime defectione perterritus inopsque consilii—quippe in ipsum periculum recciderat, quod inimico paulo ante intenderat—tri-
8 duum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo. Et pristina quidem regiae species manebat; nam et legati gentium regem adibant, et copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armatique com-
9 pleverant. Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia ultimae

[1] misitque *P;* misit *C.*
[2] pueros *Lauer;* pueris *A.*
[3] decreverant] *Hedicke suspected a lacuna after this word.*

as a command and sent men in the name of the king to summon Perdiccas. They were directed to kill
3 him if he hesitated to come. Perdiccas, when the arrival of the messengers was known, attended only by sixteen youths of the royal cohort, took his place on the threshold of his house, and after upbraiding the messengers and repeatedly calling them slaves of Meleager, he so terrified them by the firmness of his courage and his expression, that they fled almost
4 beside themselves. Perdiccas ordered the youths to mount their horses and came with a few of his friends to Leonnatus, intending now to ward off violence with a stronger force, if anyone should offer it.

5 On the following day it seemed to the Macedonians shameful that Perdiccas had been exposed to danger of death, and they decided to go and punish by arms
6 the rash act of Meleager. But he, having foreseen a revolt, when he had come to the king began to ask him whether he himself had ordered Perdiccas to be seized. The king replied that he had ordered it at the instigation of Meleager, but that they ought not to make a disturbance ; for Perdiccas was alive.
7 Therefore when the assembly had been dismissed, Meleager, terrified especially by the desertion of the cavalry and not knowing what to do—for he had fallen into the very danger which he had shortly before devised for his enemy—spent nearly three
8 days in considering uncertain plans. And in fact the former appearance of the royal quarters continued ; for envoys of the nations came to the king, and the leaders of the forces were present with him, and armed men and attendants had filled the vestibule.
9 But the great seriousness which involuntarily showed

desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius, non colloqui audebant, secretas cogitationes[1] intra se quoque volvente, et ex comparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi.

10 Ubi ille esset cuius imperium, cuius auspicium secuti erant, requirebant; destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes, expetituras tot suarum cladium
11 poenas, quandoque oblata esset occasio. His cogitationibus animos exedebant, cum annuntiatur equites qui sub Perdicca essent, occupatis circa Babylona campis, frumentum quod in urbem vehebatur reti-
12 nuisse. Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit, et qui in urbe erant aut reconciliandam cum Perdicca gratiam aut armis certandum esse censebant.
13 Forte ita acciderat, ut qui in agris erant populationem villarum vicorumque veriti, confugerent in urbem, oppidani cum ipsos alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent,[2] utrique generi tutior aliena sedes quam sua
14 videretur. Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti, in regiam coeunt, quaeque ipsorum sententia esset exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites[3]
15 mitti de finienda discordia armisque ponendis[4]; igitur a rege legatur Pasias[5] Thessalus et Damyllus[6] Megalopolitanus et Perilaus. Qui cum mandata regis edidissent, non aliter posituros arma equites quam

[1] secretas cogitationes *Giunta;* secretae cogitationis *A.*
[2] excederent *Hedicke;* et *A.*
[3] ad equites *Lauer;* et equites *A;* et, *before* mitti, *deleted by Vindelinus.*
[4] ponendis] *codex P ends with this word, at the end of a folio.*
[5] Pasias *Hedicke;* Pasas *A.*
[6] Damyllus *Hedicke;* amissus *A.*

itself was a sign of extreme desperation, and suspecting one another, they did not dare to approach nor to talk with anyone, but turned over secret thoughts each in their own minds, and from comparison with the new king longing was aroused for the one whom they had lost.

10 They inquired where he was whose rule and auspices they had followed; they had been deserted amid hostile and unsubdued nations, who would seek to inflict punishment for their many disasters, when-
11 ever an opportunity was offered. They were eating their hearts out by such thoughts as these, when it was announced that the cavalry who were under Perdiccas, having taken possession of the plains around Babylon, had held back the grain which was
12 being transported into the city. In consequence, there began to be at first scarcity and then famine, and those who were within the city maintained that they ought to come to terms with Perdiccas or fight
13 with him. By chance it had so happened that those who had been in the fields, fearing a devastation of the farmhouses and villages, were fleeing to the city, and that the townspeople, as provisions were failing them, were going out of the city, since to both classes the abode of the others seemed safer than their own.
14 The Macedonians, fearing some disturbance from these, went in a body to the royal quarters and expressed their opinions. But it seemed best for envoys to be sent to the cavalry to discuss ending
15 the discord and laying down arms. Therefore the king sent Pasias the Thessalian and Damyllus of Megalopolis and Perilaüs. When these had delivered the king's message, they received the reply that the horsemen would not lay down their arms unless

si rex discordiae auctores dedidisset, tulere responsum.

16 His[1] renuntiatis, sua sponte arma milites capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus : " Nihil," inquit, " seditione est opus ; nam inter se certantium 17 praemia, qui quieverint occupabunt. Simul mementote rem esse cum civibus ; quibus spem gratiae cito 18 abrumpere ad bellum civile properantium est. Altera legatione an mitigari possint experiamur. Et credo, nondum regis corpore sepulto, ad praestanda ei iusta 19 omnis esse coituros. Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo quam exercere civium sanguine ; et si nulla alia concordiae spes est, oro quaesoque, eligite potiorem."

20 Obortis deinde lacrimis, diadema detrahit capiti dexteram qua id tenebat protendens, ut, si quis se 21 digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis, ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressae, tam moderata[2] excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare 22 coeperunt, ut quae agitasset exsequi vellet. Eosdem rursus legat petituros[3] ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud aegre id impetratum[4] est ; nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdicca a rege cupiebat et 23 unum duobus imparem futurum esse censebat. Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso, Perdicca

[1] His *Lauer;* iis *BF;* is *LV.*

[2] suppressae, tam moderata *Hedicke;* suppressae et amoderata *A.*

[3] petituros *Lauer;* petiturus *A.*

[4] id impetratum] *frag. S* (*schedae Vindobonenses*) *begins with this word, and continues to the end of the book.*

the king should surrender the ringleaders of the discord.

16 When this reply was announced, the soldiers of their own accord armed themselves. Philip, called from the royal quarters by their tumult, said: "There is no necessity for an outbreak; for those who rest quiet will seize the prizes of those who engage in
17 mutual strife. At the same time remember that you are dealing with citizens, and that hastily to snatch from them the hope of grace is the part of
18 those eager for civil war. Let us try by a second deputation whether they can be reconciled. And I believe that, since the body of Alexander is not yet buried, all will unite to pay this pious duty which
19 we owe him. So far as I am concerned, I prefer to return this authority of mine rather than to exercise it at the expense of the blood of fellow-citizens; and if there is no other hope of harmony, I beg and entreat you, choose a better man."

20 Then with tears in his eyes he took the diadem from his head, and extended his right hand, in which he was holding it, so that if anyone claimed to be
21 more worthy he might take it. This very moderate speech aroused great hope of his character, which before that day had been obscured by his brother's fame. Accordingly, all began to urge him to consent
22 to carry out what he had planned. Again he sent the same envoys, to ask that they should receive Meleager as a third leader. This was granted without difficulty; for Perdiccas wished to separate Meleager from the king, and thought that alone he
23 would be no match for the other two. Therefore when Meleager came out to meet him with the phalanx, Perdiccas received him at the head of

equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen, mutua salutatione facta, coit in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata.

IX. Sed iam Fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia; nam et insociabile est regnum et
2 a pluribus expetebatur. Primum ergo collisere vires, deinde disperserunt; et cum pluribus corpus quam capiebat onerassent, cetera membra deficere coeperunt, quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset,
3 dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. Proinde iure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis quam paene supremam habu-
4 imus novum sidus illuxit. Huius, hercule, non solis, ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo
5 capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum exstinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo
6 revirescit solum, sed etiam floret imperium. Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas.
7 Ceterum, ut ad ordinem a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat redeam, Perdicca unicam spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte reponebat[1]; vanum eundem et infidum celeriterque res novaturum
8 et sibi maxime infestum occupandum esse. Sed alta[2] dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret

[1] reponebat *Heinse;* deponebat *A.*
[2] alta *Giunta;* alia *A.*

[a] For *insociabile regnum cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 17.
[b] For this use of *cetera* (and *alius*) see *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* lx. p. 349.
[c] On the identity of this prince and its importance for the date of Curtius see Introd., vol. i. p. xx.
[d] On the metaphor in *sidus cf.* Sen. *Consol. ad Polyb.* 32; Livy vi. 17. 4; Tac. *Hist.* i. 11.

the squadrons of cavalry. Both armies exchanged salutations and united for ever, as they thought, in firm concord and peace.

IX. But already by the Fates civil wars were being forced upon the Macedonian nation; for royal power desires no associate [a] and was being sought by many.
2 First therefore they brought their forces into collision, then separated them; and when they had weighted the body with more than it could carry, the limbs [b] also began to give out, and an empire that might have endured under one man fell in ruins while it was
3 being upheld by many. Therefore the Roman people rightly and deservedly asserts that it owes its safety to its prince,[c] who in the night which was almost our
4 last shone forth like a new star.[d] The rising of this star, by Heaven! rather than that of the sun, restored light to the world in darkness, since lacking their head the limbs were thrown into disorder.
5 How many firebrands did it extinguish! How many swords did it sheath! How great a tempest did it dispel with sudden prosperity! Therefore our empire
6 not only lives afresh but even flourishes. Provided only that the divine jealousy be absent, the posterity of that same house will continue the good times of this our age, it is to be hoped forever, at any rate for very many years.
7 But to return to the series of events from which the contemplation of the public happiness had diverted me, Perdiccas rested the sole hope of his safety on the death of Meleager; he thought that a man who was vain, faithless and quick to revolt, and his own bitterest enemy, must be attacked first.
8 But he hid his design with deep dissimulation, in order to crush him when he was off his guard.

incautum. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis quibus praeerat subornavit, ut, quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam Meleagrum aequatum esse Per-
9 diccae. Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato furens ira Perdiccae, quae comperisset, exponit. Ille, velut nova re exterritus, admirari, queri,[1] dolentisque speciem ostentare ei coepit; ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores.
10 Agit Meleager gratias, amplexusque Perdiccam,
11 fidem eius in se ac benevolentiam collaudat. Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt.

Placet[2] exercitum patrio more lustrari; et proba-
12 bilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo in quem deduceretur exercitus ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites, illinc phalanx.
13 Itaque eo die quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat[3] contra pedites
14 quis Meleager praeerat. Iam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subita formidine ob recentem discordiam haud sane pacati, quicquam exspectantes, parumper addubitavere an in urbem subducerent
15 copias—quippe pro equitibus planities erat—ceterum

[1] queri] que se *S*. [2] placet] placeat *S*.
[3] constiterat] constiterant *S m. pr*.

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[a] See Livy xl. 6. 1-3, 5.

Therefore he secretly suborned certain men from the troops which he commanded, who were to make open complaint, as if he himself knew nothing of it, that Meleager had been placed on an equality with
9 Perdiccas. When their talk was reported to Meleager, furious with anger at Perdiccas, he told him what he had learned. He, as if terrified by something of which he knew nothing, began to give utterance to surprise and complaint, and to show a pretence of displeasure; finally, he agreed that the authors of such seditious
10 talk ought to be arrested. Meleager embraced and thanked Perdiccas, and strongly commended his
11 loyalty and goodwill towards him. Then after consulting together they formed a plan for chastising the guilty parties.

It was decided to purify the army after the native fashion, and the past discord seemed to furnish a
12 reasonable cause for this. The kings of the Macedonians had been accustomed to purify the soldiers in the following manner[a]; having disembowelled as dog in the farthest part of the plain into which they were going to lead the army, they throw the flesh on both sides; within that space all the soldiers stand under arms, on one side the cavalry, on the other
13 the phalanx. Accordingly on that day which they had appointed for this sacred ceremony the king with the horsemen and the elephants stood facing the
14 infantry which Meleager commanded. Already the cavalry force was advancing, and the infantry, not wholly recovered from the sudden fear caused by the recent discord and expecting something, hesitated for a time whether to withdraw their forces into the city—for the plain was advantageous for the horse-
15 men—; but fearing to condemn the good faith of

veriti ne temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere, praeparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret.

Iam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat
16 quod aciem utramque divideret ; itaque rex cum una ala obequitare peditibus coepit, discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens, minabaturque omnes turmas cum
17 elephantis inducturum se in recusantes.[1] Stupebant improviso malo pedites, nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. Tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur exspectare potius quam movere
18 fortunam. Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, xxx[2] fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione quae prima habita est post mortem Alexandri secuti erant, a ceteris discretos elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus obicit. Omnesque beluarum pedibus obtriti sunt, nec prohibente Philippo
19 nec auctore ; apparebatque id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod approbasset eventus.

Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen et
20 principium fuit. Meleager, sero intellecta fraude Perdiccae, tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non afferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit, sed[3] mox
21 damnata spe salutis, cum eius nomine quem ipse fecerat regem in perniciem suam abutentis videret

[1] se in recusantes *B corr.;* sin recusantes *S;* sine recutes *V;* se in recuntes *B m. pr.;* se in recutes *FL.*
[2] xxx *Bentley;* ccc *A.* [3] sed *Hedicke;* et *A.*

their fellow-soldiers without sufficient reason, they halted, their minds prepared for fighting if anyone should offer violence.

Already the forces were coming together, and there was only a short space which divided the two lines.
16 Then the king with one wing of the cavalry [a] began to ride up to the infantry, demanding for punishment, at the instigation of Perdiccas, the authors of the discord, whom he himself was bound to protect, and threatened to lead all his squadrons against them,
17 as well as the elephants, if they refused. The infantry were dumbfounded by the unexpected danger, and not even Meleager himself had longer either judgement or courage. It seemed safest in the circumstances rather to await their fate than to
18 hasten it. Then Perdiccas, seeing them paralysed and in his power, separated from the rest about thirty who had followed Meleager when he rushed forth from the first assembly which was held after the death of Alexander, and in the sight of the whole army cast them before the elephants. All were trampled to death by the feet of the beasts, while
19 Philip neither prevented nor authorized it; and it was plain that he would not admit anything as his own act except what the result should justify.

This was an omen and a beginning of civil wars
20 among the Macedonians. Meleager, learning too late the treachery of Perdiccas, for the moment calmly kept his place in the formation, since no violence was offered to his own person, but pres-
21 ently, abandoning hope of safety, since he saw that his enemies were usurping to effect his ruin the name of the man whom he himself had made

[a] Apparently the *agema*; see iv. 13. 26, note.

inimicos, confugit in templum, ac ne loci quidem religione defensus, occiditur.

X. Perdicca, perducto in urbem exercitu, consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut rex quidem summam eius obtineret, satrapeam Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium quae
2 in dicione erant; Leomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est, Philotae Cilicia destinata, Lyciam cum Pamphylia et Maiore Phrygia obtinere iussus Antigonus, in Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi; Phrygiam Minorem Hellesponto adiunctam
3 Leonnati provinciam esse iusserunt. Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit; praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta[1] defenderet, bellum cum Ariarathe[2] gereret: solus hic detrectabat
4 imperium. Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam appositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et Sogdianis ceterisque aut Oceani aut Rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperium obtinerent, decretum est; Perdicca ut cum rege esset copiisque praeesset quae regem sequebantur.

5 Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam eius rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse comperimus.

[1] Trapezunta *Aldus;* trapeiunta *A* (trapeiuncta *VB m. sec.*).

[2] Ariarathe *Zumpt;* arbate *B;* harbate *FLV;* araba tegeret *S.*

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[a] Arrhidaeus. [b] *Cf.* Justin xiii. 4.

[c] Diod. xviii. 3. 1. [d] Philotas Augaeus, see v. 2. 5.

[e] The "Ocean" here meant is the Northern Ocean supposed to lie not far north of the Himalayas and Iran; the "Red Sea" included the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, and Indian Ocean.

king, he took refuge in a temple and there was killed, not being protected even by the sanctity of the place.

X. Perdiccas, having led the army into the city, held a council of the leading men, in which it was decided that the rule should be so shared that the king [a] should in fact hold the chief authority, that Ptolemy should be satrap of Egypt [b] and the African races which were under the jurisdiction of the
2 Macedonians; to Leomedon [c] was given Syria with Phoenicia, to Philotas [d] Cilicia was assigned, Antigonus was ordered to hold Lycia with Pamphylia and Greater Phrygia, Cassander was sent to Caria, Menander to Lydia; they ordered that Lesser Phrygia that borders upon the Hellespont should
3 be the province of Leonnatus. Cappadocia fell to Eumenes with Paphlagonia; he was ordered to defend that region as far as Trapezus and to wage war with Ariarathes; he alone declined his assign-
4 ment. Pithon was ordered to hold Media, Lysimachus Thrace and the Pontic nations adjoining Thrace. It was decided that those who were in charge of India, and those in charge of Bactra, the Sogdiani, and the others who dwell near either the Ocean or the Red Sea [e] should retain command and hold rule over the territories of which each had charge; that Perdiccas should remain [f] with the king and command the forces which followed the king.

5 Some have believed that the provinces were distributed by Alexander in his will, but we have learned that the report of such action was false, although handed
6 down by some authorities. Furthermore, when the

[f] See Diod. xviii. 2. 4.

6 Et quidem suas quisque opes, divisis imperii partibus, tuebantur ut ipsi[1] fundaverant, si umquam adversus
7 immodicas cupiditates terminus staret. Quippe paulo ante regis ministri specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna, sublatis certaminum causis, cum et omnes eiusdem gentis essent et
8 a ceteris sui quisque imperii regione discreti. Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse quod obtulerat occasio; quippe sordent prima quaeque, cum maiora sperantur. Itaque omnibus expeditius videbatur augere regna quam fuisset accipere.

9 Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio, curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum
10 a tam sollemni munere aversis. Et non alius quam Mesopotamiae regionis fervidior aestas[2] exsistit, adeo ut pleraque animalia quae in nudo solo deprehendit extinguat; tantus est vapor solis et caeli, quo cuncta
11 velut igne torrentur. Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur; ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. Traditum magis quam creditum
12 refero[3]; ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre qui intraverant. Vigor quoque qui constat
13 ex spiritu nondum destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeique, iussi corpus suo more curare, primo non

[1] tuebantur ipsi *A* (ut *inserted by Post*); ut videbantur sibi *Hedicke*.

[2] alius quam Mesopotamiae regionis fervidior aestas *Jeep;* aliis quam mesopotamiae regione feruidior aestus *C;* alias quam mesopotamiae regione feruidior aestus *S*.

[3] refero *Vogel;* refert *A*.

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *Balb.* xiii. 31; *Rab. Post.* i. 1; *Paradoxa* i. 10.

parts of the empire were distributed, they each continued to protect their own holdings as they themselves had fixed[a] them, except that no landmark could ever remain fixed in the face of unlimited
7 ambition. To be sure they had not long since as servants of the king, under pretext of exercising a delegated authority, individually usurped huge kingdoms, occasions for controversy having disappeared, since they were all of the same race and each one was separated from the rest by the situation
8 of his province. But it was difficult to be content with what occasion had granted them; for all first possessions seem mean when greater ones are hoped for. Hence it appeared to them all more convenient to increase their realms than it would have been to accept them as they were.

9 It was the seventh day since the king's body had been lying in its coffin, for the attention of all was diverted from so solemn a duty to the establishment
10 of public order. And no more burning heat exists than that of the region of Mesopotamia, so great that it destroys many animals which it overtakes on the bare ground; such is the heat of sun and sky,
11 by which everything is burned as by fire. Springs of water are rare and are hidden by the deceit of the natives; their use is available to them, but is unknown to strangers. I report what is recorded
12 rather than believed: when at last his friends had leisure to care for Alexander's lifeless body, those who had entered the room saw it corrupted by no decay, nor even by the slightest discoloration. The vigour too which comes from the breath of life had
13 not yet left his face. And so the Egyptians and Chaldeans who were ordered to care for the body

sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus ; deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum,[1] purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia.

14 Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique ; filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris iussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri, Antipatrum regium affectare fastigium maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae[a]
15 inflatum omnia a se data asserentem sibi. Credebant etiam Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad inter-
16 ficiendum eum missum. Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat,[2] ut ferrum quoque exurat, ungulam iumenti dumtaxat patien-
17 tem esse suci ; Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum allatum traditumque fratri Iollae et ab eo supremae regis potioni inditum.

18 Haec, utcumque sunt credita, eorum quos rumor asperserat mox potentia exstinxit ; regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit,
19 suboles deinde excepit, interfectis omnibus quicum-

[1] deum *Rader;* eum *A* (*V ends with this word at the end of a folio*).
[2] constat *deleted by Acidalius.*

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[a] See Justin xii. 13. 4 ; Plut. *Alex.* lxxvii. 1 ; Arr. vii. 27. 1-2.
[b] For *titulo* in this sense see vi. 6. 33.

after their manner, at first, as if he were still breathing, did not dare to lay their hands upon him; then after praying that it might be right and lawful for mortals to handle a god, they emptied the body of entrails, the golden coffin was filled with perfumes, and the emblem of his rank was placed upon the king's head.

14 Many believed that he had been slain by poison [a]; that a son of Antipater among his attendants, Iollas by name, had administered it by his father's command. Certain it is that Alexander was often heard to say that Antipater took upon himself the state of a king, that he was more powerful than a prefect ought to be, and that he was puffed up by the rich spoil and fame [b] of his Spartan victory while he claimed
15 as his own all that the king had given him. They also believed that Craterus had been sent to kill
16 Alexander with a troop of the old soldiers. Now it is a fact that the power of the poison which is produced in Macedonia is such that it even melts iron and that only the hoof of a draught-animal can
17 withstand the liquid [c]; they call the fount from which the destructive poison flows the Styx.[d] This was brought by Cassander and delivered to his brother Iollas, and by him was put in the last draught given to the king.

18 These tales, however much they were given credence, the power of those whom rumour had
19 aspersed presently suppressed; for Antipater seized the rule of Macedonia [e] and of Greece as well, then his son succeeded him, after all who were related

[c] Plut. *Alex.* lxxvii. 2; Paus. *Arcadia* xviii. 4.
[d] See Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 16. 53.
[e] See Diod. xvii. 118. 2.

que Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant. Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolomaeo cui Aegyptus cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandream translatum est, omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur.

to Alexander, even by a distant connexion, had been
20 killed. But Ptolemy, under whose control Egypt had come, transported the king's body to Memphis, and from there a few years later to Alexandria[a] where every honour was paid to his memory and his name.

[a] *Cf.* Diod. xviii. 28. 3 f.

GENERAL INDEX

PREPARED BY DR. JOHN ROWE WORKMAN

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Aggrammes (= Ἀγγράμμης), king of the Gangaridae and Prasii—II, 375, 3 f. (prepares to hinder march of Alex.)
Agis III, king of Sparta (338–331 B.C.)—I, 175, 39 (undertakes war with Antipater); II, 5 (arouses Greeks against Alex.); 7 (hires mercenaries, elected commander of revolting Peloponnesians); 9 (death of); 11, 1 ff. (pre-eminence in fighting; wounded); 13, 12 ff. (pursued by enemy and killed)

Agis, a very bad Argive poet —II, 275, 8 (in Alex.'s retinue); 281, 21 (ordered by Alex. to cease discussion about deification)

Agriani, a Thracian people dwelling between Mts. Haemus and Rhodopê whose army was part of troops of Alex.—I, 121, 10 (opposed by Alex. to Darius' mountain-troops at Issus); 287, 31 (under Attalus at Arbela); 307, 21 f. (cavalry of at Arbela); 353, 6 (under Tauron in march to Persia); II, 327, 9 (ordered to mount Aornus); 353, 24 (sent by Alex. against Porus' elephants); 437, 18 f. (in ruse against subjects of Sambus)

Agrianian archers—I, 351, 3 (follow Alex. into land of Uxii)

Albinus, cognomen of Decimus Clodius—I, xx

Albus, cognomen of Clitus, one of Alex.'s generals (*q.v.*)—II, 499

Alexander I (Philhellen), *fl.* 480 B.C., 10th king of Macedonia, son of Amyntas I and father of Perdiccas II—I, xxiv; 26 (celebrated by Pindar); II, 107, 26

Alexander II, 16th king of Macedonia, succeeding Amyntas II in 369 B.C.—I, xxv

Alexander III (the Great)—I, ix; xv-xviii; 3; 4 (ancient biographers of); xxvi; 4-17 (birth, education and early days of); 18 (prepares to succeed Philip); 19 (appointed chief commander of Greeks at Pylaïc assembly); 20; 21 (and of Thracians at Mount Haemus); 21; 22 (expedition of into region of the Ister); 24-27 (and Thebes); 27 (and the Athenians); 31-34 (exhortations of to invade Persian Empire); 35 (crosses into Asia); 37 (crosses the Hellespont); 38 (at Ilium); 39; 42 (arrives in plains of Adrastea); 43-46 (and Battle of Granicus); 47 (dedicates spoils of Granicus); 48 (at Ilium); 48 (receives surrendered Sardis); 49; 50 (at Ephesus and Smyrna); 51 (besieges Miletus); 52 (debates disbanding of fleet); 52-54 (frees Caria of Persian domination); 53 (restores Ada to her throne); 53; 54 (besieges Halicarnassus); 54 (grants furloughs to soldiers and orders new levies in Macedonia); 55 (in Lycia); 55; 56 (plot of Alexander Lyncestes); 56-58 (and the Jews); 56; 57 (and Jaddus, the priest, in a dream); 58 (moves on to

Phrygia); 58; 65, 1 ff. (at Celaenae); 67, 9 (promises Athenian envoys repatriation of Greeks); 69, 14 ff. (at Gordium); 71, 18 (cuts Gordian knot); 71, 22 ff. (enters Paphlagonia); 73, 24 (makes for Cappadocia); 79, 3 (appears to Darius in dream); 89, 1 (arrives at Camp of Cyrus); 91, 11 (enters Cilicia by pass known as the "Gates"); 93, 15 (arrives at Tarsus in Cilicia); 93, 2 ff. (bathes in Cydnus River and becomes ill from chill); 99, 1 ff. (treated by Philip of Acarnania); 103, 16 (begins to recover); 105, 2 ff. (takes Soli and celebrates recovery with games); 105, 5 (at Mallus [illegible]); 107, 8 (moves forces to Issus); 107, 11 ff. (and Sisines); 113, 13 (enters Syria); 115, 19 ff. (prepares for battle of Issus); 123, 3 ff. (inspects and exhorts troops before Issus); 129, 7 ff. (fights at Issus); 131, 10 (wounded at Issus); 141, 15 ff. (visits Persian queens); 145, 27 (consecrates altars on bank of Pinarus); 161, 5 (Aradus surrenders); 163, 7 (angered by Darius' letter); 163, 10 ff. (replies to Darius' letter); 165, 15 (marches into Phoenicia, enters Sidon); 169, 25 f. (and Abdalonymus).

175, 1 (encamps before Tyre); 177, 5 (addresses Tyrian envoys); 181, 15 (sends heralds to Tyre and resolves to besiege city); 183, 17 (has dream about Hercules at Tyre); 185, 1 (divides forces at Tyre); 187, 8 (begins new causeway at Tyre); 191, 13 (shatters Tyre's defences); 197, 1 f. (wearied of siege, orders more ships); 201, 9 (pursues Tyrian ships to port); 201, 10 f. (mounts tower to fight Tyrians); 203, 13 (orders destruction of Tyre); 205, 1 (receives letter from Darius offering Statira in marriage); 207, 7 f. (replies to Darius' letter); 209, 9 (receives surrendered Rhodians and distributes commands among generals); 217, 7 ff. (besieges Gaza); 219, 11 (portent of raven at Gaza); 221, 15 f. (suppliant Arab at Gaza); 221, 17 ff. (is wounded at Gaza; also I, 223, 23 f.); 221, 21 (orders siege mound to be constructed before Gaza); 223, 26 ff. (addresses Betis after fall of Gaza); 227, 2 (arrives in Egypt).

227, 9 (sets out for Ammonium); 233, 25 ff. (is received by the Ammonian

priest); 235, 30 (adopts title of son of Jupiter); 237, 1 f. (contemplates and lays out Alexandria in Egypt); 239, 5 (populates Alexandria); 241, 11 (punishes Samaritans for death of Andromachus); 241, 12 (gives audience to Greek envoys about prisoners); 247, 12 (encamps at Euphrates River); 247, 14 (penetrates to Tigris River in pursuit of Darius); 249, 18 (directs crossing of Tigris River; also I, 251, 20); 253, 4 (assembles officers to learn meaning of eclipse); 255, 9 (draws up line to pursue Darius); 257, 16 f. (letters of Darius entreating Greeks to revolt); 259, 20 ff. (laments death of Darius' wife); 263, 1 (calls council to hear terms from envoys of Darius); 267, 14 ff. (rebukes Parmenion and answers envoys); 271, 2 f. (pays rites to body of Darius' wife and prepares to meet Darius); 275, 16 (perceives his army's terror and orders rest); 277, 21 (wavers in determination to pursue plans before Arbela); 277, 22 ff. (makes final preparations for battle of Arbela); 279, 8 ff. (chides Polypercon in his and Parmenion's plan to attack); 283, 15 ff. (orders vows and prayers before retiring on eve of Arbela); 285, 22 (orders signal given for battle); 285, 26 ff. (arranges line of battle); 289, 36 (receives Bion, a deserter from Darius); 291, 38; 291, 1 ff. (exhorts army at battle); 301, 1 (orders army to charge); 303, 7 f. (exhorts Parmenion through Polydamas); 305, 13 (sends Aretes against Scythians); 307, 19 ff. (rebukes army and joins battle); 309, 26 (optical illusion of eagle at Arbela); 311, 31 (turns tide of battle); 313, 3 (angered at attack of Mazaeus); 317, 16 (pursues Persian fugitives to Lycus River); 319, 19 (resolves to return to his men); 319, 20 ff. (encounters danger from leader of Persian horsemen); 321, 27 ff. (appraisal of Alex.'s genius); 329, 10 (Arbela surrendered to); 331, 16 (arrives at Mennis); 333, 17 ff. (receives Mazaeus and surrendered Babylon); 341, 43 ff. (makes appointments before leaving Babylon); 343, 1 (enters Sittacenê); 345, 6 f. (changes military discipline); 347, 8 ff. (receives booty of Darius); 349, 18 ff. (and Sisigambis); 351, 1 (ar-

rives at Pasitigris); 355, 16 f. (incorporates Uxii in forces); 357, 17 (enters Persia at Susidan Gates); 359, 4 ff. (Lycian guide, prisoner); 371, 5 ff. (Greek captives); 377, 22 (addresses them); 379, 1 (decides to besiege Persepolis); 385, 17 (arrives among Mardians); 385, 1 ff. (intemperance of); 387, 5 ff. (burning of Persepolis); 419, 4 (decides to pursue Darius); II, 9 (sends troops to suppress Lacedaemonian revolt); 17, 1 ff. (lasciviousness of); 21, 12 (arrives at Parthienê); 25, 1 ff. (addresses soldiers on imperial plans); 39, 1 ff. (receives Artabazus in Hyrcania); 45, 18 ff. (his horse Bucephalas); 47, 25 ff. (Thalestris); 49, 1 ff. (incontinence of); 57, 27 ff. (burns out enemy).

59, 1 ff. (plot of Dymnus); 77, 23 ff. (calls assembly to try Philotas); 77, 2 ff. (Alex. speaks about Philotas' guilt); 85, 25 (orders Philotas before assembly); 133, 8 (acquits Amyntas and brothers); 135, 13 ff. (dispatches Polydamas to pursue Parmenion); 141, 35 (separates Parmenion's followers into one cohort); 143, 1 (orders march against Arimaspi); 151, 23 (establishes Alexandria *ad Caucasum*); 157, 22 (army of Alex. near starvation after crossing Caucasus); 167, 13 (reaches the Oxus); 171, 28 ff. (the Branchidae); 175, 36 ff. (reaches the Tanais, receives Bessus); 177, 3 (wounded by barbarians); 179, 11 (envoys of the Abii submit to); 183, 16 (orders Cyropolis to be besieged); 185, 25 (establishes Alexandria on the Tanais); 187, 5 ff. (alarmed at times); 189, 10 ff. (delivers speech to body-guard about future plans); 197, 1 ff. (ponders future plans against Scythians); 199, 8 ff. (Scythian envoys); 207, 1 ff. (prepares to cross Tanais); 213, 4 ff. (Sogdianian prisoners); 215, 10 (arrives at Bactra); 219, 4 ff. (decides to storm rock of Arimaza); 219, 7 ff. (addresses besiegers of rock); 233, 1 (divides army to pursue enemy); 237, 13 ff. (enters forest of Bazaira, encounters lion); 239, 22 ff. (boasts at banquet of his achievements and belittles Philip II); 241, 31 (becomes angry at Clitus); 245, 43 ff. (shows great wrath); 247, 52 (kills Clitus); 247, 1 ff. (grief-stricken in conscience); 249, 5 ff. (remorse of at

murder of Clitus); 251, 11 (goes into seclusion).

253, 19 (arrives at Nautaca); 259, 1 (decides to attack the Dahae); 261, 10 ff. (receives wife of Spitamenes); 269, 15 ff. (and Macedonian soldier); 269, 18 ff. (and Sisimithres); 269, 21 ff. (and Oxyartes); 271, 23 ff. (introduction to Roxanê); 273, 3 (decides upon Indian war); 275, 5 ff. (considers himself divine); 281, 22 ff. (hurls Polypercon from couch); 289, 22 f. (apprised of plot of Hermolaüs); 291, 28 ff.; 295, 1 ff. (replies to Hermolaüs); 303, 1 (sets out for India); 313, 2 (receives Indians); 315, 6 (wounded in siege of an Indian city); 315, 7 ff. (besieges Nysa); 319, 19 (enters Daedala); 319, 22 (crosses Choaspes River to country of Mazagae); 321, 27 ff. (wounded at city of Mazagae); 323, 34 ff. (Cleophis); 325, 3 ff. (and rock of Aornus); 331, 1 (moves to Ecbolima); 333, 4 (arrives at the Indus River); 333, 7 ff. (meets Omphis); 337, 2 (sends demands to Porus); 339, 5 (arrives at Hydaspes to meet Porus); 341, 17 (devises stratagem against Porus); 349, 14 ff. (contemplates Porus and his army); 357, 38 ff. (capture of Porus); 365, 1 f. (commends army on Indian successes).

367, 6 (establishes Nicaea and Bucephala); 369, 14 (takes town on Hyraotis); 371, 24 (enters realm of Sopithes); 373, 30 (Sopithes surrenders); 375, 35 (advances to Hypasis River); 375, 36 (meets Phegeus); 379, 12 ff. (addresses soldiers on imperial plans); 391, 18 f. (withdraws from army to sulk); 393, 19 (orders twelve altars to be erected); 395, 23 (establishes two towns, but see n. *a* on II, 394); 395, 4 (storms capital of the Sibi); 397, 6 (storms second city of Sibi); 399, 14 (sets up altars at union of Indian rivers); 399, 15 (enters land of the Sudracae and Malli); 399, 16 (upbraided by Macedonian soldiers); 401, 19 ff. (quells their fears); 403, 26 (arrives at town of the Sudracae); 403, 27 ff. (soothsayer Demophon); 403, 30 ff. (scales ladder at town of Sudracae); 407, 9 (severely wounded on ladder); 409, 15 (falls on Peucestes' shield); 411, 22 (carried to his tent); 413, 26 ff. (Critobulus the physician); 415, 1 ff. (moves down Hyraotis River);

419, 16 ff. (addresses close friends); 427, 12 ff. (receives envoys of Indians); 431, 23 (annoyed at duel); 433, 3 f. (sails down stream to Malli and Sambagrae); 435, 8 (founds Alexandria in India); 435, 10 (reduces Musicani to submission); 435, 11 ff. (takes city of Porticanus); 437, 13 (enters domain of King Sambus); 439, 25 (anxious for wounded Ptolemy); 441, 29 (takes town of the Patalii); 441, 1 (wishes to visit Ocean); 449, 27 (proceeds out into Ocean); 451, 3 (establishes several cities along Ocean).

451, 5 (enters regions of Arabitae and Cedrosii); 451, 6 (comes to Arabus River and land of the Horitae); 453, 7 (founds city of Rambacia); 453, 8 (comes among the Ichthyophagi); 455, 17 (orders food to avert army's starvation); 457, 20 (advances into Carmania); 459, 24 ff. (decides on a great triumph); 471, 8 (orders punishment for corrupt governors); 473, 17 f. (plans further expedition to west); 475, 24 ff. (Orsines); 477, 30 ff. (tomb of Cyrus); 479, 39 ff. (over-hasty in punishing); 481, 45 ff. (feared by provincials); 485, 8 (redistributes soldiers); 487, 15 ff. (addresses mutinous soldiers); 495, 7 ff. (addresses foreign soldiers); 499 (becomes reconciled with Macedonians); 499 f. (begins mustering out troops); 503 (renovates his army); 505 (moves from Susa to Bagistanê); 507 (arrives at Ecbatana); 511 (undertakes expedition into land of Cossaei).

513 (warned not to enter Babylon); 513 (crosses Pallacopas River to Arabians); 513 (encounters dire omen while crossing marshes); 515 (becomes very ill); 515, 4 (gives his ring to Perdiccas); 517, 6 (death of); 523, 26 ff. (good qualities of); 525, 33 ff. (qualities of Alex. attributable to his fortune); 555, 9 ff. (disposal of Alex.'s body).

Towns and cities founded by Alex.—see under Alexandria, Bucephala, and II, 217, 15; 453, 7; 511; 513

Alexander Lyncestes, son of Aëropus, first to hail Alex. III as king but later a conspirator against his life—I, 18; 24; 54; 55; 56 (plot of); 106, n. *b*; II, 117, 5; 119, 8 f. (death

of); 123, 19; 293, 4; 297, 6; 479, 40
Alexander Molossus, brother of Olympias, king of Epirus—I, 22; II, 243, n. *c*
Alexander, general of Alex. III, otherwise unidentified —II, 327, 10 (leader of party scaling Aornus); 329, 14 f. (overwhelmed)
Alexander, son of Cleophis—II, 325, 36 (named for Alex. III)
Alexandreis, a thirteenth-century epic by Philip Walter on material drawn from Curtius about Alex. —I, xiv
Alexandretta, modern Alexandria in Cilicia—I, 117, n. *d*
Alexandria in Egypt—I, 237, 1 ff. (founding of); 239, 5 f. (populated); II, 559, 20 (final resting place of Alex.)
Alexandria on the Iaxartes—II, 185, 25 ff. (founding of)
Alexandria (*ad Caucasum*)—I, xxvi; 392, n. *a*; II, 151, 23 (founding of)
Alexandria, at Issus—I, 117, n. *d*
Alexandria, in India—II, 435, 8
Alexandropolis, a city of the Medari in Thrace, repopulated by Alex.—I, 12
Alps, the—II, 473, 18 (Alex. plans to skirt)
altars—I, 21 (erected by Alex. after defeat of Getae); 38 (erected by Alex. in Europe and Asia Minor at place of crossing Hellespont); 81, 9 (of silver, carrying sacred fire, in Persian processional); 145, 27 (consecrated by Alex. on bank of Pinarus); II, 331, 24 (erected to Minerva Victoria on Aornus); 393, 19 (Alex. orders 12 of squared stone erected as memorial to his expedition); 399, 14 (many erected in country of Sibi after ship of Alex. escapes whirlpool)
Amanican Gates, entrance to Cilicia from Syria, situated north of the Pinarus River—I, 113, 13 (reached by Darius and his army before Issus)
Amardi, variant for Mardi (*q.v.*), a rude people dwelling near Hyrcania—II, 42, n. *a*
Amazons, female warriors living on the Pontus and on the Caspian (see n. *c* on II, 36)—II, 37, 17 (on the Caspian); 47, 24, 27 (dwelling in plains of Themiscyra, description of); 507 (female warriors under Atropates believed survivors of race of A.). See also Thalestris
Ambraciots, inhabitants of Ambracia, a town in southern Epirus—I, 20

(Alex. ratifies their freedom)
Amedines, secretary of Darius—II, 145, 4 (made governor of the Euergetae)
Ammianus Marcellinus, a Latin historian (*c.* A.D. 390) continuing histories of Tacitus—I, xxii (comparison of Curtius with)
Amminaspes, a Persian exile in Macedonian court—II, 39, 25 (made satrap of Hyrcania)
Ammon, a grove consecrated to Jupiter, and situated in the Egyptian desert—I, 231; 16 ff. (description of and Alex.'s visit to); 237, 1; II, 515, 4 (Alex. asks burial at). See also Jupiter
Ammonii, inhabitants of Ammon—I, 231, 20 ff.
Amphictyons, a federated assembly of Greek peoples meeting twice a year, once at Delphi, once at Thermopylae—I, 13 (Philip II decreed commander of Greeks by); 20 (Alex. confirmed as commander of Greeks by); 33 (Alex. refers to)
Amphipolis, a town of Macedonia on the eastern bank of the Strymon—I, 20 (Alex. starts Greek campaign from); 37 (passed through by Alex. on way to Asia)
Amphissa, the chief town of Locria—I, 13 (Philip seeks to punish Locrians in)
Amphoterus, general of Alex., brother of Craterus—I, 56 (sent by Alex. to Parmenion in affair of Alexander Lyncestes' conspiracy); 71, 19 (made commander of fleet in Hellespont); 211, 14 ff. (with Hegelochus frees Aegean islands from Persian domination); 241, 15 (sent to free Crete); II, 9 (ordered to Peloponnesus)
Amu Darya River= Oxus (*q.v.*)—II, 152, n. *a*
Amyntas I, king of Macedonia (520–500 B.C.)—I, xxiv (fifth successor of Perdiccas I)
Amyntas II, king of Macedonia (390–370 B.C.)—I, xxii (Philip II, son of); xxv (death of)
Amyntas Lyncestes, soldier in army of Alex.—I, 345, 5 (sixth in contests at Sittacenê)
Amyntas, fellow-conspirator of Dymnus—II, 63, 15 (mentioned in plot against Alex.)
Amyntas, general of Alex., defeated an attack by the Bactriani, otherwise unidentified—II, 251, 14 (awarded province by Alex.); 251, 16 (attacked by Bactriani)

Amyntas, general of Alex., otherwise unidentified—II, 85, 28 (arouses assembly against Philotas)
Amyntas, son of Andromenes, general of Alex.—I, 14 (sent to Thebes by Philip to encourage his allies); 25 (attack on Thebes); 121, 7 (a commander at Battle of Issus); 225, 30 (sent to Macedonia to levy soldiers); 287, 28 (not present at Arbela); 341, 40 ff. (arrives with recruits from Macedonia); 367, 20 (leader of light-armed band at Susian Gates): 369, 30 (attacks barbarians at Susidan Gates); II, 31, 2 (leader of a light-armed band); 119, 10 (called before Alex. in trial of Philotas); 121, 15 ff. (implicated in conspiracy of Philotas); 123, 19 ff. (testifies in trial of Philotas); 133, 6 (upbraids his brother Polemon)
Amyntas, son of Antiochus, general of Alex., deserted to Darius—I, 55 (conspiracy with Alexander Lyncestes); 108, n. *b* (his alleged advice to Darius); 133, 18 (leader of Greeks in Persian army); 169, 27 ff. (crosses to Cyprus and moves on to Egypt); 173, 31 ff. (defeats Persian garrisons in Memphis and is slain); 225, 1 (welcomed by Egyptians)
Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus—I, 39 (with scouting cavalry sent to reconnoitre as Alex. opens campaign in Asia Minor)
Amyntas, son of Perdiccas and cousin of Alex.—II, 81, 17 (ally of Philotas in plot against Alex.); 95, 24 (Philotas mentions plot of)
Anaxarchus, Hellenistic philosopher—II, 513 (warns Alex. against Chaldean predictions)
Anaximenes of Lampsacus, philosopher under whom Alex. studied eloquence—I, 10
Ancyra, a city in Galatia—I, 71, 22
Andromachê, wife of Hector—I, 39
Andromachus, governor of Jerusalem and later of Syria Coelê—I, 57; 209, 9; 239, 9; 241, 11
Andromenes, father of Amyntas—I, 341, 40
Andronicus, general of Alex.—II, 145, 2
Andros, island in the Aegean, garrisoned by Pharnabazus—I, 175, 37
Anemoetas, Theban friend of Philip II—I, 13
Antibelus—see Brochubelus
Anticles, fellow-conspirator of Hermolaüs—II, 285, 9

Antigenes, chiliarch and prize-winner in the contest at Sittacenê—I, 345, 5
Antigenes, general of Alex., otherwise unidentified—II, 349, 15; 499
Antigonus, general of Alex., later called the "One-Eyed," one of Alex.'s successors—I, xx; 50 (rebuilds Smyrna); 173, 35 (governor of Lydia); 211, 13 (invades Lycaonia); II, 553, 2 (assigned Lycia, etc., at Alex.'s death)
Antigonus, soldier in contest at Sittacenê—I, 345, 5
Antipater, commander of Macedonia in Alex.'s absence—I, 23 (warns Peloponnesians not to join enemies of Alex.); 25 (life demanded by Theban revolutionaries); 27 (father of Cassander); 31 (advises Alex.); 35 (instructed to hold levies in Europe); 49 (deemed worthy of salutation by Alex.); 71, 20 (given funds to defend Greece); 175, 39 (involved in war with Agis); 341, 40 (supplies foot-soldiers); II, 7 (recruits troops against Peloponnesians); 9 (victor in Arcadia); 11 (reinforces troops); 15, 17 ff. (his reaction to victory over Lacedaemonians); 59, 35 (sends recruits to Alex.); 119, 7 (delays Alex.'s anger at Alexander Lyncestes); 217, 12 (supplies troops from Greece); 501 (ordered to honour discharged soldiers); 503 (suspected by Alex.); 535, 9 (supported by Pithon as successor in Europe); 557, 14 (suspected by Alex.); 557, 19 (seizes rule of Greece)
Antipater, royal page—II, 285, 9
Antiphanes, commissary of Alex.'s cavalry—II, 121, 15 ff.; 127, 32 ff.
Antissa, town in Lesbos—I, 58 (taken by Memnon)
Aornus, crag of—II, 325, 2 ff. (siege of)
Apamea Cibotas in Phrygia—I, 64, n. *b*
Apelles, the artist—I, 6 (paints Alex.); 49 (ridicules Alex.'s aesthetic judgement); 50 (paints Alex. at Ephesus)
Aphobetus, fellow-conspirator of Dymnus—II, 63, 15
Aphthonius, fellow-conspirator of Hermolaüs—II, 285, 9
Apollo—I, 13 (Cirrha consecrated to); 20 (Alex. consults shrine of); 195, 21 f. (vision of in Tyre)
Apollodorus, co-governor of Babylonia and Cilicia with Menes—I, 343, 43
Apolloniates, the—I, 40 (cavalry of, under Socrates)
Apollonides, tyrant or satrap of Chios—I, 58 (receives

Memnon); 211, 15 ff. (recovers Chios)
Apollonius, commander of Africa near Egypt—I, 237, 5
Arabia—I, 7 (subdued by Alex.); 185, 1 (Alex. enters); 187, 7 (returns from); 329, 11; Arabians—I, 135, 24; 225, 30; II, 137, 18 (two accompany Polydamas); 512; Ar. Orei (tribe in Mesopotamia)—I, 328; Ar. Scenitae—I, 328, n. *c*; Arabian costume—II, 137, 17 (worn by Polydamas); Ar. Gulf—I, 75, n. *c*; Ar. Sea—II, 149, n. *b*; 552, n. *e*
Arabus River, the—II, 451, 6
Arachosia—I, 402, n. *a*, Arachosii, the—I, 207, 5; 271, 6; II, 139, 26; 145, 4, 5; 337, 3; 427, 14; 453, 7
Arachotae, the—I, xxvi (Alex. marches through land of)
Arados, island—I, 161, 5 f. (surrendered to Alex.)
Araxes River, = the mod. Bund-Amir—I, 207, 4; 361, 7; 371, 2 ff.; 389, 9; II, 149, 19
Arbela, village in Assyria, headquarters of Darius III. The battle was fought about 50 miles from the village in 331 B.C.—I, 245, 9; 315, 9; 327, 3; 329, 10; II, 17, 21. The battle—I, 271, 5 ff. (preparations for); 285, 22 (signal for battle); 315, 11 ff. (refugees from); 319, 26 (losses); 327, 2 ff. (account of); II, 383, 23
Arbupales, grandson of Artaxerxes—I, 44
Arcadia—II, 9 (Antipater victor in)
Arcadians—I, xxiii (descended from Lycaon); 16 (did not yield to Alex.); 23 (did not assist Thebans)
Archelaüs, general of Alex.—I, 349, 16
Archelaüs, son of Perdiccas II, his successor as king of Macedonia, 413–399 B.C.—I, xxiv; 34; II, 107, 26
Archepolis, fellow-conspirator of Dymnus—II, 63, 15
archers—I, 25 (Cretan archers fall at Thebes); 119, 28 (of Darius cross Pinarus); 119, 1 (of Darius at Issus); 391, 4; II, 31, 2 (of Alex. left to protect Parthienê); 327, 9 (ordered to scale Aornus); 331, 2 (dislodge army of Erices); 339, 6 (of Porus); 347, 3 (in Porus' defences); 349, 10; 503 (under Peucestes)
Archidamus, father of Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians—II, 5
Aretes, leader of the lancers at Arbela—I, 305, 13; 307, 18
Argos—I, xxiii; xxiv

argyraspides, the "Silver Shields"—I, 286, nn. *a* and *b* on I, 287, 26 and 27
Aria—II, 145, 2 (invaded by Satibarzanes)
Ariamazes, leader of the Sogdiani—II, 219, 1 (holds Rock of Sogdiana); 219, 5 (ridicules Alex.); 225, 23 (urged to surrender); 227, 27 f. (surrenders Rock)
Ariarathes II, king of Cappadocia—II, 553, 3
Arii—II, 55, 20 (Satibarzanes, satrap of); 161, 32 f. (fight with Macedonians)
Arimaspi—II, 143, 1
Ariobarzanes, leader of the Persians at Arbela, a satrap of Persia—I, 273, 7; 357, 17 (holds Susidan Gates); 365, 15; 367, 20; 369, 33 (breaks Macedonian line); 371, 34 (death of)
Arisbê, village in the Troad—I, 39
Aristander, soothsayer in Alex.'s retinue—I, 43 (feigns a miracle for Alex.); 181, 14 (interprets blood in bread); 219, 12 (foretells fall of Gaza); 283, 15 (propitiates the gods); 309, 27 (and optical illusion at Arbela); 359, 2 (trustworthiness of); II, 189, 8 (ordered by Alex. to divine); 193, 22 ff. (rebuked by Alex.); 195, 29 (announces an auspicious crossing of the Tanais)
Aristobulus, historian of Alex.—I, xv; xvi; 3
Aristogiton, Athenian envoy in Darius' army—I, 151, 15
Aristomedes, Thessalian in charge of Darius' barbarian foot-soldiers at Issus—I, 119, 3
Aristomenes, admiral of Darius—I, 173, 36
Ariston, commander of the Paeonian cavalry—I, 251, 24 f.
Aristonicus, tyrant of Methymnê—I, 58 (made tyrant by Memnon); 213, 19 ff. (leader of pirates); 241, 11 (tortured to death)
Aristonus, member of Alex.'s body-guard—II, 409, 15 (tries to rescue Alex.); 411, 18 (severely wounded); 531, 16 (advises on successor to Alex.)
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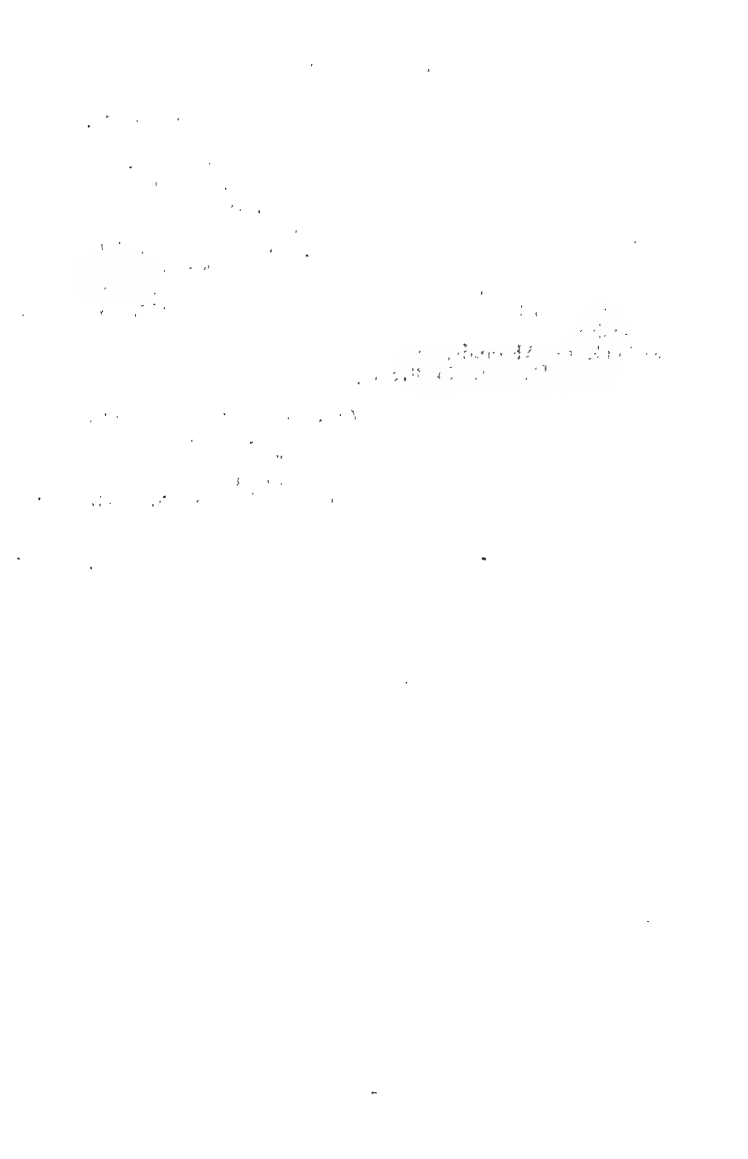

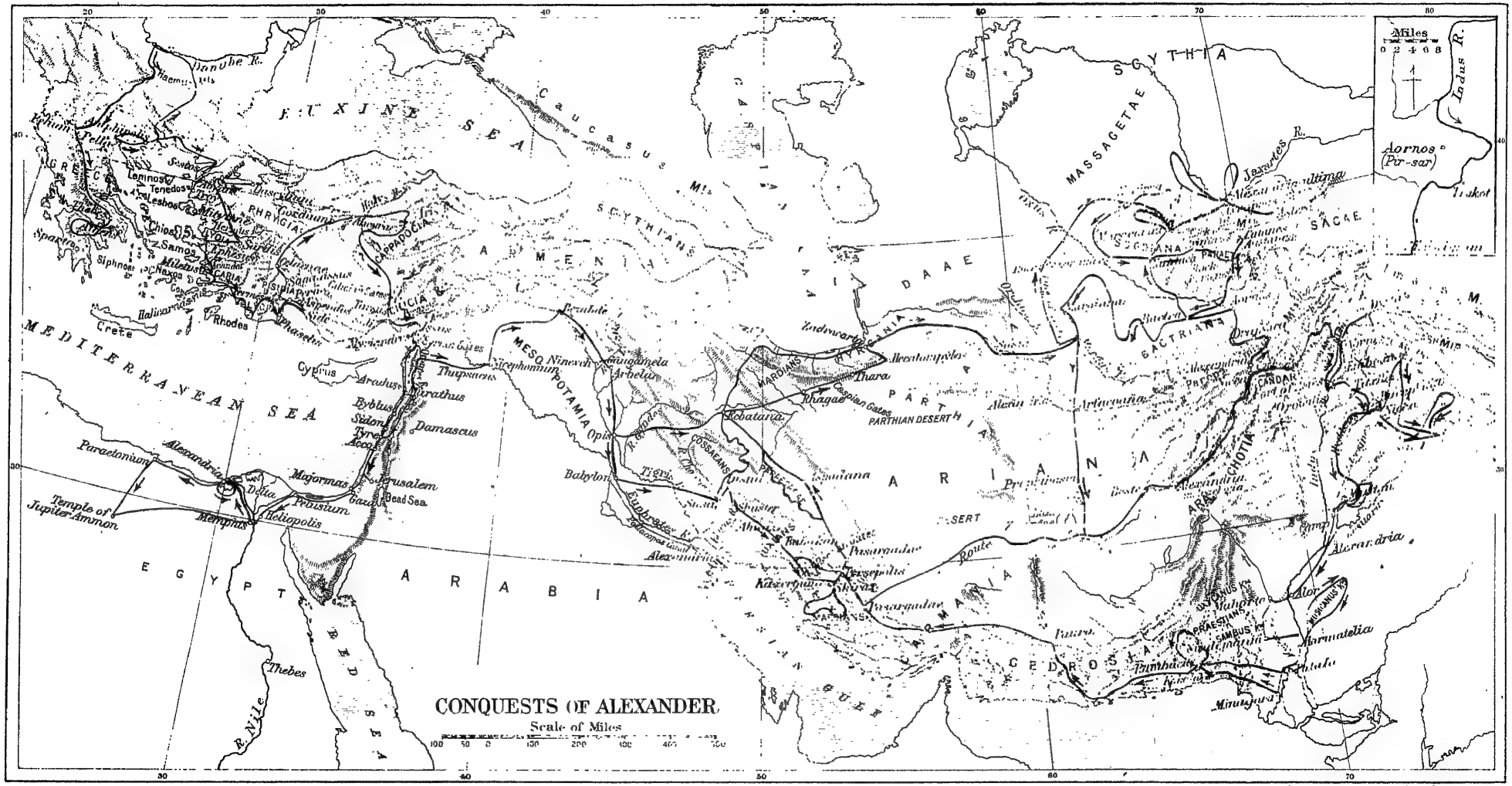
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PARTHIA
SCYTHIA
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SACAE
BACTRIANS
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Miles
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(Pir-sar)
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Caucasus Mts.
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Euphrates
Nile
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Jupiter Ammon
Temple of
Memphis
Heliopolis
Alexandria
Paraetonium
Damascus
Jerusalem
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Babylon
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Pasargadae
Ecbatana
Thebes
Rhodes
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Lemnos
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